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The 6 volumes contain the results of the Blue Pine Chippewa study, including historical, cultural, social, and educational aspects of the region. Analyses and comparisons are made on bases of age, residential area, marital status, degree of Indian blood, income, education, available transportation, religious choice, veteran status, and race. Educational attitudes of teachers, students, parents, and the community are surveyed. Results of test batteries in reading, mathematics, abstract reasoning, spacial relationships, and mechanical ability are presented in tabular form, along with an extensive bibliography of Indian Education. (DA)

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PUBLIC EDUCATION ON A MINNESOTA CHIPPEWA RESERVATION

VOLUME 1

Public Education On A
Minnesota Chippewa Reservation

Final Report
On
Cooperative Research #7-8138

To
United States Office
Of
Education

Sponsored
By
The University of Kansas

Conducted
By
Arthur M. Harkins

Under The Supervision
Of
Professor Rosalie H. Wax

May 31, 1968

MANY OF THE MATERIALS PRESENTED IN THIS REPORT WERE GATHERED WITH THE FULL AND INVALUABLE COOPERATION OF THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM, WHICH OPERATES UNDER THE MANAGEMENT OF THE RESERVATION BUSINESS COMMITTEE AT THE RESEARCH SITE.

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The Reservation Business Committee at the research site made possible a working relationship with Indian people and their organizations that went beyond the normal bounds of friendship and assistance. The school personnel in the bordertowns and villages made every effort to provide complete information about the operations of their schools. In addition to fundamental direction and encouragement from Professors Rosalie H. Wax and Murray L. Wax, James G.E. Smith of the Canadian National Museum, Ottawa, devoted much of his time to introductions and general familiarization with the people and places of the Reservation.

To the persons above, but especially to the Indian school children and parents with whom we met and talked, the deepest gratitude is expressed, together with the hope that this report will lend itself usefully to practical, school-related matters of concern to them.

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I. Introduction to the Final Report

A. Research interests

A primary objective of this research was to establish what school means in the lives of village Chippewa children attending public institutions on and near Blue Pine (pseudonym) Reservation, Minnesota. Earlier educational research by the Waxes has provided a comprehensive view of the more traditional Indians at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, where young Sioux attend federal institutions. The present research grew out of the Pine Ridge study, focusing on the operations of four public elementary schools and four public high schools on and near Blue Pine.

The three elementary schools are located in small, predominately Indian villages, and the other elementary school and all four high schools are located in predominately white towns very near Reservation borders. Total village Indian student enrollment is approximately 450. The grade level at which children are bussed from the villages to border schools varies from community to community. Each village provides the majority of Indian students attending the border high school in its locale, and white persons from these towns tend to view Indian students as "coming from out of the Reservation". Indian people tend to take a similar view of this movement, and the common reference to it is "going off the Reservation to school," even though two of the high schools are geographically within Reservation's borders.

Ethnographic and survey studies were conducted on Blue Pine Reservation of all four small villages and four border towns. The central focus was upon the relationships of these communities with public elementary and secondary schools, as these relationships were reflected in the ways Chippewa children tend to succeed or perform poorly in school roles. Community analysis was based in part on research data gathered every sixteen continuous months. Observation and participant observation were supplemented by open-ended questionnaires designed for key categories of community and school populations, and by interviews with persons from each population category. Pre-research calls on formal organizations with potential value to this research elicited assurances of cooperation with the research investigation, and such cooperation was generously given. Such organizations included the school systems involved, the Blue Pine Community Action Program, the BIA, and the Indian branch of the Minnesota Department of Education.

B. Research background

The research was designed to acquire more complete knowledge about cultural disjunctions between aspects of school systems and aspects of the community. A major proportion of current efforts to better understand the problems of schools and their communities have been conducted in urban areas of the national society, and have grown out of assumptions about cultural qualities of school systems and communities that have a relatively firm base in past research. Educational research among rural Indian populations cannot find so firm a foundation in previous scientific studies. In order to properly attempt to find answers to the question "What does school mean in the lives of Indian children attending public institutions?", gaps in knowledge about the cultural characteristics of communities served by these schools must be narrowed.

Recent published social scientific research among the Chippewa Indians of Blue Pine Reservation dates before the Second World War, and is not centrally concerned with the problems of education. Since scientific knowledge of the characteristics of Blue Pine Chippewa culture is scarce, a working knowledge of reservation communities had to precede or accompany examination of the school systems. In order to properly analyze the interrelationships of aspects of communities and aspects of schools, further work was required in order to sharpen understanding of Blue Pine's Indian population, located almost entirely within the social boundaries of the four villages. Unpublished data and personal communications by James G. E. Smith (Canadian National Museum, Ottawa) gathered over several consecutive summers have been available to provide extremely helpful insights into one of four Blue Pine Reservation villages and into important features of the Reservation.

In the past fifteen years, the Indian population of Blue Pine Reservation has declined from about 2,800 people to approximately 2,000. While no hard data are available to provide a highly accurate demographic account of this change, BIA officials and Reservation people believe that the majority of persons leaving the Reservation have migrated to the Twin Cities, Duluth, Milwaukee, and Chicago. While Indian enclave populations are regarded as troublesome to urban welfare workers, law enforcement personnel and educators, little has been learned about the characteristics of the people who have chosen to leave the reservation, nor, from the point of view of Indian culture, the community characteristics of the urban areas into which they have moved. Contemporary research on the cultural characteristics of reservation children can help provide a stepping stone for an extension of related research into the urban environment.[1] Specifically, educational research at Blue Pine can provide an opportunity to better understand how village Indians live there today, and what kind of relationships they have with rural public Minnesota schools as these are reflected by their children. Generally, such research can provide for useful comparisons with rural Indians in other cultures, with rural non-Indians in the national society, and with urban Indians (when studies are made) and non-Indians. In many ways, educational and community research among rural Indians may be concerned with problems peculiar not just to Indians, but to other minorities, even when they exist in the urban context. The presumably less complex rural context, for purposes of early research, may provide a laboratory for urban phenomena in simplified form, thus leading to an earlier, better understanding of them.

Excellent conceptual frameworks exist for the study of communities.[2] Detailed outlines are available which provide substantive procedural tools for use within chosen conceptual frameworks.[3] For the present study, research will proceed along the lines suggested by a folk-urban continuum[4] so that comparisons may be made with past and future related research. The following perspectives will be employed:

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[1] Such research is now underway in the Twin Cities, under the direction of the writer. Surveys are also being conducted of selected reservations in Minnesota under the same auspices.

[2] See Redfield 1960; Stein 1964; Wolf 1964; Thompson 1965; Vidich, Bensman and Stein 1965; Arensberg and Kimball 1965.

[3] See Warren 1955.

(1) the folk-urban continuum of cultural characteristics and social structure;

(2) the notions of community as a sociocultural system and school as a sociocultural system (or institution);

(3) the structural-functional approach to the comparative analysis of community and educational institutions;

(4) the problems of relationships with minorities in the light of the national society and its educational goals;[5]

(5) the folk society and its internal characteristics, as related to contact with technocratic societies (see position statement which follows).

Sociologists, and more recently, anthropologists, have been giving increasingly specific attention to the field of contemporary education from the perspective of the scientist, and some noteworthy texts and readers have appeared as a result of this interest.[6] For the type of research proposed, recent conceptual work in educational aspects of societies and sub-societies may be drawn upon as a starting point,[7] particularly when the research or analysis is problem-oriented in a way related to national educational interests.[8]

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[4] Redfield 1960.

[5] Conant 1961.

[6] See Brim 1958; Spindler 1960; Halsey 1961; Gross 1962; Bell 1962; Brookover 1964; Kneller 1965.

[7] See Line and King 1956; Henry 1960; Mead 1961; Lazarsfeld and Sieber 1964; Thompson 1965; Boocock 1966.

General works on American Indians provide an introduction to problems in Indian life and education from an historical perspective,[9] including the Chippewa,[10] and selected material from several scholarly areas immensely aids the understanding of contemporary Indian life.[11] As a preparation for analysis of specific aspects of general Indian education, the most relevant materials are derived from recent research among the Pine Ridge Sioux,[12] and from a more general and pragmatic perspective.[13] In spite of dated and sometimes conflicting analyses of recent and contemporary Chippewa life,[14] understanding of the acculturative effects of school and other factors on Chippewa children themselves is nevertheless enhanced by the available literature.[15] Yet the need for additional research on more Chippewa reservations is very important.[16] Practically-oriented work specifically relevant to the education of Chippewa children is scarce but often quite stimulating.[17]

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[8] See Hollingshead 1949; Gross 1958; Goodman 1960; Coleman 1961; Coleman 1961; Bell 1962; Lieberman 1962; Henry 1964; Kerr 1964; Mayer 1964; Moore 1964; Niemeyer 1964; Schreiber 1964; Goodman 1964; Miller 1965; Friedenberg 1962 and 1965.

[9] See Wissler 1940; Kroeber 1947; Driver 1961.

[10] Densmore 1929; Warren 1885.

[11] See Bruner 1956; Eisenstadt 1956; Goffman 1959 and 1963; Hallowell 1959; Kimball 1960; Laurie 1961; Wax and Thomas 1961; Barnouw 1963; Braroe 1965; Owl n.d.

[12] See Wax and Wax 1956b; Wax 1963; Wax and Wax 1964; Wax, Wax, and Dumont 1964.

[13] See Adams 1946; Powers 1965; Thompson 1964.

[14] See Landes 1937; Hilger 1939; Barnouw 1950; James 1954; Boggs 1956; Friedl 1956; Hallowell 1959; James 1961; Laurie 1961; Hickerson 1962.

[15] See Caudill 1949; Boggs 1958; Hilger 1951; Miller 1954; Stromberg 1965; Wax and Wax 1965.

A precondition of educational research is the community study, necessary for the situational understanding of educational forms and functions. Such an approach can also be valuable to local educators in practical ways. Since there has not been recent survey research performed on Blue Pine Reservation, an objective of this study is to provide a description of village community characteristics. This material can provide a better understanding of the Reservation itself, especially as it exists in the context of an impoverished white, rural region distinguished by small towns, unspectacular agricultural activity, and clusters of modest fishing cabins built around numerous lakes. Modified hypotheses based on the major findings of the Waxes in Pine Ridge have been made, substituting the designation "village Indians" for "country Indians", since the Blue Pine population appears to be further along the continuum from rural to urban than the Pine Ridge Sioux.

C. Research objectives

Six hypotheses formed a framework for initial research activities. These were identical to hypotheses formulated by the Waxes, with occasional minor modifications:

> Hypothesis 1. Village Indian adults are isolated from the schools which their children attend. They visit

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[16] See Wax 1964; and Wax and Wax 1965a.

[17] See Ray 1959; Truer 1964; 1965 and 1965; and Stark 1966.

schools seldom, are ignorant of the curricular work in progress, are troubled by the relationship of their children to the school. Most have little influence on the conduct of the school and they do not attempt to exercise much influence.

Hypothesis 2. Educators are ignorant of the cultural peculiarities and domestic existence of their village Indian pupils and interpret their behavior from within their own cultural framework, thus regarding their pupils as "culturally deprived." Many posit qualities to the Indian population that seem to "explain" why the task of educating the children is difficult.

Hypothesis 3. Village Indian pupils form strong peer societies, distinct from the control of their Indian elders or white educators and coalesced about values and practices which are indifferent to those of the schooling process. These peer societies are stronger where more whites are fellow classmates.

Hypothesis 4. The perspective of village Indian adults toward the national society and the role of education therein differs from that of the urban middle-class and reflects the particular values and ethos of their own existence. The Village Indian values toward education come closer to those of lower- or lower-middle class national society than more traditionalistic Indians.

Hypothesis 5. Village Indian adults, including most of those who are members of school boards, have little knowledge of the bureaucratic, intellectual, and economic functions of the school, and so act primarily as local legitimating committees for state authorities.

Hypothesis 6. There are perceptible differences in standards for judging the academic performance of Indian children where they are in the majority instead of the minority in the classroom. Specifically, it is easier for them to move through the educational course in the first case than in the second, because different expectations are held for them by teachers and administrators. Even in the second case, there may be lowered standards for Indian children who exhibit some indication of future academic promise, or whose demeanor approximates that which the teacher feels to be correct for a properly acculturating Indian child.

Ethnographic and social survey studies were conducted of four village communities, designated A, B, C, and D. Taken as a unit, they comprise the bulk of the Indian population of Blue Pine Reservation, and may be seen collectively placed somewhere further along the rural-urban continuum than more traditionalistic Indians elsewhere. Observation and participant observation were supplemented by the use of several types of questionnaires and interviews. The primary focus was upon the meaning to Indian children of public schools in or near their communities, as these relate to school-community relations and to the cultural characteristics of the Reservation and the surrounding region. Since the bulk of the Indian population of Blue Pine Reservation lies within four villages, representative or universal samples have been taken from each relevant community population category. Since there is evidence that each of the four villages has characteristics that distinguish it from the others, certain comparisons have been possible on this basis.

The primary field approach was that of a neutral observer, although personal values were employed in the analysis of data. Recent research at Blue Pine Reservation established the researcher as a neutral student of local Indian affairs, so that no problems concerning inadvertent alignment with any faction, or personal involvement in the processes of the communities or schools were encountered. Formal and informal interviews, analyses of pupil records at the schools, and various types of interviews and questionnaires administered to the communities (parents, siblings, and relatives of school children, in addition to persons not connected by kinship to school children) and the schools (teachers, pupils and administrators) comprised the primary data sources. Questionnaires of various types were patterned after the Pine Ridge research of the Waxes, which interpreted educational data in the light of the total community and its characteristics.

D. A position statement: the functional limitations of Indian community

The position statement which follows is offered in view of the knowledge that values affect research. It is not a "romantic" stance, but neither, hopefully, is it degrading to Chippewa Indians or cynical about their opportunities for realization as persons and a people.

A tendency, when considering folk societies, is to think of their ecological and social boundedness as indicators and requisites for positive community values, attitudes, and practices very much on the wane or already lost in the United States. But what we know about folk societies should also lead us to carefully consider the obviously tyrannical effects of life in small, kin-linked groups bounded compactly by tradition and size. In such close conditions, the maintenance of meaningful personal differences by every individual must be extremely difficult, especially in light of the ease of interpersonal observations and low tolerance for deviation. Among modern Chippewa Indians, the fear of gossip attests to the efficiency of this medium as a controlling instrument. Modern Indians show great respect for the power of informal social controls other than gossip, such as joking, "teasing," or staring, and often indicate that they employ such techniques in efforts to control their own interests. Within a social system with these characteristics, individuals will go to great lengths to protect aspects of self that they wish to conceal from the consideration of others. Further, the very insularity, control of deviance, and solidarity of folk societies so often taken for positive elements of a "community" we are missing today preclude community in the sense meant by the very persons who admire these characteristics. They also create a kind of individuality that is qualitatively different from the personalized modes allowed to develop in urban societies: more atomized, more idiosyncratic in ways we would tend to lable "sociopathic", and less contributive to the general _joie de vivre_ of the folk society.

The very solidarity of the folk society precludes much individualism, yet predisposes the creation of alienates different from those developed in complex settings. Since by definition alienates are set apart from something, the nature of most urban alienation would take the form of alienation from some aspect of that society, or perhaps many aspects of it. But even alienation from many aspects of complex societies still allows functional operation and identification in other areas, unless certain very distinct and fundamental breaches are made that bring strong retribution. Urban society also protects the alienate by providing him with social worlds insulated well enough from others that he may often go undiscovered by those who might react negatively to his behavior.

But in folk societies there is no comparable range of group-linked moralities with which to identify. Kin associations with different moral traits may provide some possibilities, as do different roles or complexes of roles within the folk society. On the whole, urban society offers persons situationally- and group-linked moral systems on a much more grand scale. Similarly, complex societies more often allow for individuated behavior that need not fall under the label deviant at all, but simply under the title, individuated. Folk peoples resent deviant behavior because it indirectly attacks their sense of public morality ("thou shall not be immoral, because we all want to be, and that simply cannot be so because it is immoral") and because it threatens private morality, which is secretive and furtive in the face of oppressive and pervasive informal controls. Thus, the deviant in folk society cannot easily respect himself and cannot expect others to do so. On the contrary.

In the folk setting, private morality is a core element of the self, but there is guilt to live with and no opportunity to publicize the morality in the face of shaming tactics practiced by the community-at-large. In complex societies, private morality has a much greater chance to be reduced or turned into something "positive" through approval by some valued part of that larger society. The secrecy of individual morality and motivations in folk societies predisposes to manipulation on a scale most members of complex, urban societies are unfamiliar with. A great deal of energy goes into discovering the rationales and motivations of others, and much time, energy and attention go into protecting the self from similar probing by others. The atomized nature of folk societies creates the necessity for each person to constantly re-establish interpersonal armistices, designed to provide mutual protection against probing and discovery. But a change in any one part of the complex system of interlocking relations seems to be enough to unbalance the complexly interwoven patterns of interaction in the entire system.

Within such a system, it is difficult to imagine how people can generally be trusted or regarded warmly. They are isolated and alienated, but scarcely individuated.

In the folk society, each person is a potential enemy to all others, in the sense that invasion of the private person continuously threatens. The atmosphere is literally charged with other-directedness when people gather together. Anxiety is almost tangible. The tyranny of the group is real if individuals have something to hide, and even if they do not, the attempt must be made to find out what others are attempting to conceal so that they are not offended, and so that they may be known better for the sake of personal planning. Persons tend to become respectful out of fear.

Among contemporary Indians, private morality problems are exacerbated by the influence of the whites. The problems of interpersonal relations and the definition of one person's relations to another, and to all others, are greatly complicated by the emergence of a variety of behavior possibilities that did not exist before. But one aspect of the Indian relations pattern with whites has been that certain fundamental white ways are shunned, and since those that are shunned are potentially the most devastating because they tend to undermine the Indian community, "coming over," even to a small degree, requires the creation and operation of a private morality that is freighted with potentially devastating personal and collective reactions. Hence, relatively few Indians come over, and the private morality sector operates to create further nucleation and alienation. The question becomes couched in terms of "total sell-out" or "no sell-out;" in terms of the preservation of that which is Indian and going over to that which is white. But decades of this conflict have produced an Indian-ness that even many Indians do not particularly care for, and it is patently the result of continuous confusion over precisely what is being sold out, to whom, and whether either has been properly categorized as Indian (to be preserved) or white (to be avoided).

There is also not a great deal of openness in the discussion of these matters, because anxiety follows closely upon an attempt by nucleated people to discuss things that they feel are too closely personal and different for safe public display. Among Indians, to admit to misgivings in a public way (as between any two individuals) about basic kinds of feelings regarding white encroachments is to risk becoming publicly immoral. It threatens the self, and it leaves the person open to the machinations of the gossip network. To reveal that one is being tempted by a white way, seen as dangerous by the community in the mind of the tempted, is to court public rejection and self-loathing.

The private morality sector is strengthened by the inputs of the white society. Fixation upon "preserving that which is Indian" becomes a losing rear guard action, as what is "Indian" is increasingly constructed upon reactions to the dominant white society. Indian patterns are much changed from the past, and will be much changed in the future. The encounter is always defensive.

Psychic "apathy" stems from ineffectual attempts to preserve poorly understood and often vanished "Indian-ness" within a network of community patterns that severely limit communications directly related to this process. This is the case even among individuals having some of the same experiences in trying to redefine what their community is, and who they are within it. Folk societies, because of the objectification of human relations and the relative attenuation of communications among individuals, are not fitted with effective tools to deal with such imposed stresses. They do not allow the full public attention that such a problem as massive dominant-society siege requires. Yet the siege is there, and it gradually wears down and transforms the Indian community.

Apathy is the lable used by many whites to denote what is to them the paralyzed inactivity of many Indians in the face of "opportunity". When this judgement is expressed negatively by whites and incorporated by Indians as an aspect of their collective and personal judgement criteria, it becomes a debilitating "something" both sides can agree exists. Though where the phenomenon can be discussed by whites, most Indians are constrained to classify this perspective and its imports as publicly immoral, and thereby not discussable with other Indians on the level of thoroughness possible.

Increasingly, Indians become what they are seen to be from the outside by the larger society, and what social scientists say they are from the "inside". The folk orientation to community and the continued efficiency of powerful control mechanisms in community not only prevent the resurgence of individual competence and power--because virtually the only ways one can do this are in white terms--but they also act to limit the ways in which modern day Indians can collectively deal with whites on a power basis. The injunction, "know thyself," is difficult to follow in Indian society because it is often difficult or impossible to be importantly public, and those fearful public judgements, often operating on an inadequate base of social knowledge, cannot themselves tell Indians what they really are. Some Indians know this, but they cannot categorically communicate what they have learned to other Indians, or must not.

"Apathy," behaviorally, is what whites lable to inaction observable to them of nucleated Indian folk caught in the dilemmas posed by contact. But while whites see inactivity, Indians are involved in a tense drama of redefinition of self and community systems that is largely invisible to outsiders. In American society, unfortunately, few rewards and considerations are extended to intelligent, sensitive persons attempting a monumental task of social reconstruction on this basis.

The attention of folk peoples to the collective is an affect situation growing out of full orientation to one public moral system. Somehow, Indians must legitimate more fully aspects of private morality that grow out of the total acculturation siege in motion today. To do this will require the recognition of people as persons (individuals), and their aspirations and problems as important. The prevailing moral system would importantly alter, but there would be a real chance to preserve with vigor and independence a more Indian version of Indian-ness. At the moment, however, the strengths of their community prevent this.

The position outlined above will be a major factor in assessments of the theoretical and practical meanings of data gathered in this study.

II. Selected Historical, Social And Cultural Aspects Of The Blue Pine Reservation

A. Historical background of the Chippewa

Originally, the Blue Pine people were composed of four bands: some Pembina Chippewa, some Gull Lake Chippewa, some Ottertail Chippewa, and other Mississippi (removal) Chippewa. Prior to the reservation era, the Chippewa people were nomadic hunters and gatherers. Their main staplès were rice and fish, along with berries and maple sugar. In the winter, they hunted and trapped. The Chippewa formed an immediate relation with the French fur traders who made contact with them in their earlier home region, the Gulf of St. Lawrence area. As the fur trade became more and more a part of tribal life, the Chippewa migrated further westward. White domination of the land was never far behind the Chippewa movement, and by the middle of the nineteenth century, the fur trade had all but disappeared and the era of the reservations was underway. With the establishment of the reservations, Chippewa culture began to undergo important stresses as a result of the pressures of the dominant culture surrounding the reservation enclaves.

As the reservation system brought an end to the economic, political, and religious basis of Chippewa life at Blue Pine, a history of profound cultural change began. In the one hundred year period since the establishment of the Blue Pine Reservation, the use of Chippewa as a language has declined so that virtually no family continues its use as the main language of the household, and only a handful employ it together with English. Many basic cultural and social patterns of the Blue Pine Chippewa, such as their nomadic existence (except in the winter) and their religious and political organizations were replaced by white sociocultural forms which hastened the erosion and eventual elimination of Chippewa culture. While the attempts of the government to alter Chippewa culture at Blue Pine have been successful in many areas, important sociocultural features have continued.

Linguistic evidence indicates that the Chippewa, members of the Algonquian linguistic group, had moved through the northeastern United States and into large portions of Ontario and Quebec about 1500 years in the past. The Chippewa were culturally closest to the Ottawa and Cree, and all three tribes were restricted to what became western Quebec and Ontario. Population density among the Chippewa was low, and the ecology of the area they inhabited helped to limit ther size of the social group through natural means. They were a hunting and gathering culture, and the size and complexity of their social units was affected by the way they used the land. The social group was apparently small, especially in the hard times of winter, and linguistic evidence indicates that cross-cousin marriage operated to provide for the peaceful linking of bands over time. Today, in Canada, this form of social grouping persists, although with modifications resulting from contact with the whites.

With the establishment of a thriving fur trade in the 16th century, Chippewa Indians became bound up in a relationship with whites that, in some respects, lasts until today. Fur traders bartered for the furs of the Chippewa with whiskey, guns, traps, tea, sugar, trinkets, and other items. As the demand for furs grew and the available supply diminished, the Chippewa moved westward with white movements not far behind. As this culture began to occur, and there was a shift toward the establishment of family hunting and trapping territories. One migratory movement was to the southwest, where the Chippewa found the land more readily exploited. As these bands moved into areas inhabited by the Sioux, they became go-betweens in the fur trade with the Sioux and French traders. But after a period of peace, a hostility developed between the Chippewa and Sioux that did not come to an end until after the establishment of the reservations. Today, some humorous but fairly pointed references to past unfriendly relations between these two tribes can be heard when Sioux and Chippewa people come together.

As the Chippewa moved southwesterly, they pushed the Sioux ahead of them, and gradually took over what became Wisconsin and Minnesota. The state of warfare never abated. As the need for organization for war affected even hunting parties, war leaders began to develop, and the different features of the land allowed the formation of larger groups than before. Under these conditions, the Chippewa began to develop village chiefs. Originally, the development of chieftainship had been stimulated by the requirements of the fur trade and the necessity of dealing with the government of the whites. Traders and government officials alike preferred to deal with entire social groups through as few persons as possible, so that a leadership was developed suitable for dealing with outsiders of importance to the band.

But the fur trade suffered greatly from economic hard times during the 1830's, and the Chippewa, living in lands now less exploitable after heavy inroads had been made for profit, found themselves in poor straits. In addition, the increasing white population had begun to make demands for land. The Chippewa, long used to a symbiotic relation with whites, attempted to extract themselves from this situation by ceding great land areas for payments that appeared, at the time, large.

B. Historical background of the reservation

Blue Pine was established in 1867 as the potential home of all Minnesota Chippewa, but the other six reservations were established when it became apparent that many Chippewa would not move to Blue Pine. In 1869, with the movement of Chippewa to Blue Pine, the population of the reservation swelled to about 10,000. Many bands were represented there, but the two primary bands were Mississippi and Pillager. With the establishment of Blue Pine and the other reservations, new social and political groupings and roles that had begun to develop with the southwesterly movement were choked off from further growth. Councils, certain types of chiefs, and other political groups were no longer of influence, at least in practical ways. With the disappearance of meaningful roles, the government of the reservation became a province of Indian agents from the government of the dominant society.

The end of the pre-contact and post-contact trading periods with the whites signaled important changes in Chippewa life among the people who moved to Blue Pine. First, the autonomous quality of band political organization and function ended. Second, the former economic base of Chippewa life, never too certain but on the whole viable, ended, as did related aspects of their culture. Third, socialization of the young, almost exclusively a function of the family, ended with the establishment of federal schools. Fourth, the Midewiwin religion was superceded by the Christianity brought in by missionaries. Fifth, the use of the Chippewa language declined, in part because of the utility of English in dealing with the representatives of the dominant society, and in part because of the insistence of school personnel that the Indian language not be used by children. Sixth, there was a decline in the normative, functional sources of social control, as a result of the new and unfamiliar large community settings into which the Chippewa were grouped at Blue Pine for administrative purposes and because the authority of the traditional religion and the usual seats of political power were replaced or made impotent by outside influence. Seventh, the Dawes Act of 1887 made possible the sale of lands allotted to individuals among the bands, if these individuals were deemed "civilized," or if they could claim white ancestry. In the 1890's timber speculators began to denude the lands, so that by about 1925, the economic value of the Blue Pine Reservation was vastly deteriorated. The economic base of the land has never been adequately restored, and this problem is one of the most fundamental among many facing the Blue Pine Chippewa today.

In the 1920's and 1930's, the boarding school system that had been present was eliminated, as was Bureau of Indian Affairs control over all Blue Pine children's schooling. Responsibilities for education, law enforcement, and welfare were turned over to the State of Minnesota, and to county governments unable and unwilling to effectively shoulder their new burdens.

C. Reservation sociocultural and ecological setting

The Blue Pine Reservation (Chippewa) is located in three northwestern Minnesota counties. It is located approximately fifty miles northeast of Moorhead-Fargo, a twin-city complex that provides much in the way of necessary services to a vast farming area of the northwest. The Reservation was established in 1867, and contained an original acreage of about 800,000, but much of this land is no longer in Indian hands. Of the original acreage, only about 27,000 remain Indian land, and of this amount, about 25,000 acres are tribal land and 2,069 acres individual Indian-allotted lands. About 28,000 acres of government land exists, which was purchased for the use of the Indian.

The land pays poorly. About seventy per cent of it is classed as forest, and earlier tree cutting excesses have made the present pulping industry but a shadow of previous activities. Many Indian men work seasonally at pulping, a job which does not pay well and involves long, hard hours in often bitterly cold weather. The major Indian communities on the Reservation are four villages situated along a curving north-south line near the center of the Reservation. Several places also exist that might be termed hamlets, where Indian families are loosely grouped together in smaller numbers. Several white communities exist along the western border region of the Reservation where fairly sizeable Indian populations live. The

Reservation itself, while only about forty miles on a side, is sufficiently complicated geographically and affected by severe winters to make travel among most of the Indian villages and predominately white towns demanding, and not infrequently, impossible. Some paved roads exist, but these are difficult to maintain during the long winter months, and even hard surfaces tend to become virtually impassable after new storms or high winds have caused drifting. Temperatures drop to as low as -58 degrees (and on one occasion did so during an early phase of the project's field work).

Three of the villages, which shall be designated B, C, and D, have approximately equal populations of about five hundred. Village A, more remote than the others and less populous, contains about two hundred persons. Within the several remote hamlets, which consist of a few families, persons think of themselves as "belonging" to one of the four villages. More isolated families consider themselves as "belonging" to a village community or one of the border towns. Communication among the villages is often poor. Telephone service is not good and subject to breakdown, and road travel, as stated, is treacherous many months out of the year. In addition, most of the village people are poor, so that gasoline and the luxury of a telephone are indulgences that must be carefully governed or not used at all. Autos are in abundance on the Reservation, but most of them are in shaky running condition or are not functioning at all. In the summer of 1967, hundreds of old autos were collected by Reservation men hired under government financing and dumped in several areas screened-off by trees and hollows. In so doing, the men helped reduce the clutter surrounding many Reservation homes, but simultaneously helped to deprive many young children of playground material, since Reservation youngsters have made an art of inventing pastime uses for the old machines.

In spite of travel difficulties and problems finding the funds for gasoline, Reservation people do manage to occasionally visit a village other than their own. Now and then there is intermarriage among villages as a result of this visiting, and various news items are also transmitted by word of mouth in this manner. While relatives are the object of most village-to-village visiting, little travel among the reservations goes on, and there seems to be very little marriage among the reservations. Occasionally, one finds a grown Blue Pine person who claims not to have seen other, prominent communities within the boundaries of the Reservation, but who may have been to Minneapolis to live for a period of time lasting years, or perhaps for several lengthy visits to that area.

The basic living unit of the Chippewa people in aboriginal times centered about the nuclear family, with several closely related families usually living with this unit. The usual family grouping consisted of a man and his wife, their unmarried children, and the nuclear families of the man's sons. Several such units formed a band, which occupied a general territory and lived collectively during months when food availability allowed. After contact with the whites had occured, and the reservation system had been put into effect, villages were created that were much larger and more permanent than any communities that had previously existed among the Chippewa. Originally, housing units were rather widely separated by white standards. (There is evidence, at least in some historical accounts, that fairly large collectives may have lived more closely, perhaps in single dwellings housing a population greater in number than the nuclear family and closely related families.) At Blue Pine, housing units today tend to be rather far apart by white standards, while related persons tend to live in houses as closely together as possible given this separation. Nuclear families or individuals may live in houses or cabins far back in the woods, miles from a village, and yet count themselves among the village residents and be so counted by villagers. Village A members, for example, often live in such isolation that their own community neighbors may not see them for nearly an entire winter. Village A is, in addition, so spread out that it is difficult for the outsider to "see" the community as present at all; it takes a resident to do that, and after a period of familiarity with the area, one finds himself wondering how he could have overlooked something so "obvious" in the first place. Villages A, B, C, and D are in fact social entities, even though they may string out along a road or perhaps several roads for two or more miles, only gradually ending as housing separation takes on distances of hundreds of yards.

Each household at Blue Pine normally consists of the nuclear family base that was characteristic of the Chippewa in aboriginal times, and sundry relatives living in the house for various reasons, not the least being economic distress. The poor tend to cluster together as do those in higher economic brackets, so that sections of villages often take on the names of prominent or characteristic families living in those parts of the community. Similarly, clustering also takes place by kinship links, so that it is possible to find, for example, an entire section of Village C referred to by the name of a prominent poor family, and an excellent lakefront area not far away referred to by the name of a well-to-do family from the same village. Thus, the social considerations of kinship lead to socioeconomically similar neighborhoods within the generous geographic expanses of the villages. Formidable problems in finding available housing have created crowding conditions in the houses that are often difficult to comprehend. It is possible to find upwards of fifteen persons, for example, living in a one-room frame building heated by a poorly ventillated wood-burning stove, without electricity or running water.

When there is evidence of the "sharing" attributed to Indians, it takes form at Blue Pine through close consideration to the needs of the nuclear family, followed by consideration of kin from the closest relatives outward, although this pattern may be altered by personal likes and dislikes. Blue Pine residents are attuned to the prospect of help from kinsmen when more fortunate circumstances have put such persons in a position of relative economic or social security.

Kin members tend to factionate and engage in bitter internal strife. The prevalence of hostilities and jealousy within kindreds is usually brought to a temporary halt, however, whenever the group is threatened from without. If a wider threat comes into being, kindreds will band together in order to present a united front, with the association developing earliest among more closely related kindreds. Blue Pine residents, on the whole, are continuously engaged in inter- and intra-kin strife, as well as in a form of cold war with the surrounding white society. Like their Chippewa cultural equivalents in other states and in Canada, the people of Blue Pine appear to relish interpersonal hostility. After drinking, Blue Pine adults often lash out bitterly at members of their family or residents of their community. Gossip is unsparing and of the "character assassination" variety. One of the initial adjustments the neophyte outsider must make to Blue Pine culture relates directly to the intensity of the methods of informal social control, of which gossip is the chief instrument. Direct violence and confrontation are by no means unknown at Blue Pine as alternative methods of securing presumably needed alterations in the behavior of others. A man at Village A, for example, was perceived to have "gone too far" by his neighbors when he installed a picture window in his otherwise humble frame dwelling. That night, his best friend smashed it with a broom handle, calling out "You shouldn't a done that, _____! Why did you have to go and put that glass in?" Apparently, the man was directly expressing the feelings of other Village A residents, for few were said to have expressed disapproval of the act.

Marriages among Blue Pine Chippewa persons are free of strictures except for marriage to first cousins and, though less tightly controlled, marriage to members of certain kindreds or factions. Marriage to whites is on the whole approved, although members of dominant family groups can be heard expressing disapproval of particular marriages in which a Blue Pine person is judged to have married a white below his or her position. Cross-cousin marriage, which once operated to link the Chippewa bands, no longer occurs, and the totemic groups, which in the past were kinship extensions within which marriage prohibitions operated, have disappeared at Blue Pine, and most if not all young people do not know the identity of their totemic affiliation. Indeed, some of the younger people have never heard the word, "Ojibwa," the technically more correct term to refer to Blue Pine Indians. It is even possible, without much effort, to find young people who do not know that they are Chippewa, but only understand that they are "Indian".

Kindreds are in some ways the political parties of Blue Pine, since persons active in some political way are never seen except as members of a certain family, and of a certain kindred or "faction". Issues in conflict are never separated from the personalities involved, and these personalities are seen as more important than issues themselves. Kindreds or factions in power are viewed with almost uniform hostility, except within groups of closely related persons, and even these groups can turn suddenly on persons in power and attempt by gossip and other means to discredit and remove them. It is not uncommon for politically active brothers and sisters within families to speak in personally derogatory ways of one another over what appear, often, to be relatively minor issues.

The importance of kin-based activities at Blue Pine cannot be over-estimated. Kin relationships are highly personal, so that even in the context of nominally formal proceedings, such as a meeting of the elected committee that serves to relate the people of the reservation to agencies from the outside, personalities and kin considerations operate as crucial criteria.

D. Outlines of the contemporary political structure

Today, Blue Pine is one of six reservations in Minnesota that combined under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 into the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe. Blue Pine, like all other reservations in the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, is known as an "open" reservation because it chose allotment under the Clapp Act, with the result that most of the land area of the reservation belongs to persons who are not Indian. Red Lake, a Minnesota Chippewa reservation not included in the organizational structure of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, declined allotment under the Clapp Act, and therefore remains geographically and culturally more intact than the other reservations. The usual term used to refer to Red Lake's territorial and social solidarity is "closed" reservation.

Tribal organization is outlined under a constitution drawn up in 1964 to replace the one drawn up in the 1930's. Nominally, the constitution provides for the division of authority among local communities within the reservations, the reservations themselves, and the tribe. Nominally, the purpose of the tribal organization is to promote the general welfare of tribal members to conserve and develop tribal resources, promote the general welfare of Indian trust property, etc. Membership in the tribe includes all persons whose names appeared on the annuity role of April 14, 1941, all children of Minnesota Chippewa blood born to an enrolled parent between April 14, 1941 and July 3, 1961, and all children of at least one-quarter Indian blood born after July 3, 1961 to a parent who is a member of the tribe. In actual practice, such as determining eligibility for services from Public Health, these guidelines may not be followed closely.

Blue Pine, like the other Minnesota Chippewa Tribe reservations, elects a Reservation Business Committee, and from these reservation elections a Tribal Executive Committee is formed by automatic membership of each business committee chairman and secretary-treasurer. No reservation business committee may exceed twelve members. At Blue Pine, the nominal responsibility of the five Business Committee members is to look after the best interests of the Reservation in whatever ways seem necessary. The chief role of the committees with respect to the larger society is one of cooperative mediation. Some subjects of concern are cooperation with the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the Public Health Service regarding services or projects on the Reservation, administration of usually meager Reservation funds and property, recognition of usually weak and passive community organizations and committees, and management of a relatively wealthy new anti-poverty agency, the Blue Pine Community Action Program.

III. The Poverty Context Of Indian Life, With Some Initial Blue Pine Examples

The Community Action Program (CAP) at Blue Pine exists to raise people "out of poverty." As we will see in later sections of this report, most Blue Pine Indians and many on-reservation whites are indeed very poor. This section will portray some preliminary characteristics of Indian and non-Indian poverty on and around Blue Pine (Tables I - IV), and attempt to place in juxtaposition the relationship of these rather typical conditions to national OEO and Bureau reservation programs. Some possible changes in Indian leadership patterns that could affect these relationships will also be discussed.

Despite the fact that there are many Indian Americans in the United States living in poverty today, these Indians, unlike black people in many parts of the country, have not chosen to take violent measures to redress their grievances. Today, there are about 600,000 Indians in the country. Of these, some 200,000 have migrated to towns or cities. According to President Johnson, the Indian today lives in a situation generally more tragic than perhaps that of any other minority person. Many thousands of Indians live in unsatisfactory dwellings, such as huts or abandoned automobiles. The unemployment rate among Indian people is nearly 40%, about ten times the national average. Fifty percent of Indian school children, or double the national average, drop out before completing high school. Indian literacy rates are among the lowest in the nation, and the rates of sickness and poverty are among the highest. Thousands of

Indians who have migrated into the cities find themselves untrained for jobs and unprepared for urban life. And the average age of death of the American Indian today is 44 years, while for all other Americans it is 65.

Table I shows certain population characteristics of Blue Pine Reservation taken from the 1960 U.S. Census Report. The large proportion of rural non-farm families has definite implications for Indian livelihood.

TABLE I: BLUE PINE POPULATION, BY COUNTY
1960 POPULATION - B, C, AND M COUNTIES

	B	C	M	Blue Pine Reservation
Total	24,836	10,204	7,059	
Total Indian	1,236	319	789	2,344
% of total population	4.9%	3.1%	11.2%	
Rural Non-farm Indians	1,168	319	789	2,276
Rural Non-farm Indians (Outside place of 1000-2500)	1,168	289	702	2,159

A BIA housing survey, completed in 1964, showed the following family income distribution. Without farming or even gardening efforts, the low incomes of Blue Pine families suggested poorer diets than local poor non-farm whites, who usually garden.

TABLE II: ANNUAL INCOME OF BLUE PINE INDIAN FAMILIES IN 1963

Total Contacted	Under $1000	1000 to 1999	2000 to 2999	3000 to 3999	4000 to 4999	5000 to 5999	6000 and Over	No Response
403	87	137	55	39	16	4	7	40
	76.7% below President's poverty level.							

The 1960 Census and Bureau report also provide a picture of the abject housing conditions of the essentially non-farm reservation Indian population at Blue Pine (Tables III - VI).

TABLE III: BLUE PINE HOUSING CONDITIONS AND PLUMBING - RURAL NON-FARM

	B.	C.	M.	Blue Pine Reservation
All Housing Unit	6,396	2,049	1,346	
Occupied	2,608	1,378	865	
Owner Occupied	2,052	946	624	
White	1,919	902	561	
Indian	133	44	63	243
Renter occupied	556	432	241	
White	494	418	189	
Indian	62	14	52	128
Vacant	3,788	671	481	
Year Around	588	300	155	
Available (sound and deteriorating)	93	58	36	
*Seasonal	3,200	371	326	
Sound	4,885	1,376	957	
With All Plumbing	2,785	670	510	
Deteriorating	1,077	463	264	
With All Plumbing	167	89	22	
Dilapidated	434	210	125	

* The three counties above contain many lakes and there are many lake cabins which accounts for the large number of vacant buildings.

TABLE IV: BLUE PINE HOUSING CONDITIONS

Community	Running Water Cold	Hot	Flush Toilet	Shower or Bath	Total Contacted
1.	3	2	2	2	17
2.	48	22	35	24	93
3.	26	2	1	0	45
4.	2	2	2	2	31
5.	15	6	6	4	102
6.	14	10	11	9	107
7.	2	2	2	1	5
8.	-	-	-	-	6
	110	46	59	42	406

Of the homes visited, 41 (10%) of the total were rated as standard.

TABLE V: BLUE PINE HOUSEHOLD POWER AND FUEL CHARACTERISTICS

	Electricity		Heating				Cooking		
Community	Used	Not Used	Wood	Oil	Gas	Other	Electric	Gas	Wood
1.	9	5	9	5	-	1	-	12	2
2.	44	27	45	23	3	-	1	53	17
3.	11	25	30	5	-	1	-	25	10
4.	14	9	18	6	-	-	-	19	4
5.	29	50	71	9	1	-	-	57	22
6.	60	37	62	31	4	1	1	54	40
7.	-	6	6	-	-	-	-	-	6
Total	167	159	241	79	8	3	2	220	101

No Response - 73

TABLE VI: SIZE COMPARISON - STATE OF MINNESOTA AND INDIAN HOMES ON BLUE PINE RESERVATION

Dwellings with			Percent of all Dwellings 5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30% 35% 40%
1 Room	- 47	Blue Pine	- 12.7%
		Minnesota	- 3.7%
2 Rooms	- 76	Blue Pine	- 20.6%
		Minnesota	- 6.0%
3 Rooms	- 93	Blue Pine	- 25.2%
		Minnesota	- 11.4%
4 Rooms	- 71	Blue Pine	- 19.2%
		Minnesota	- 18.8%
5 Rooms	- 37	Blue Pine	- 10.0%
		Minnesota	- 21.4%
6 or more	- 45	Blue Pine	- 12.2%
		Minnesota	- 38.7%
	369		

No Response - 34

A review of individual questionnaires indicates that 89 families (22.5%) in the group contacted have seven (7) or more members. The questionnaires also show that 42 families are sharing a house with another family.

Anti-poverty programs, such as those funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, have nominally attempted to meet these and other poverty conditions of Indian Americans through such programs as community action agencies on Indian reservations. But none of these programs effectively has yet reached the urban or town-dwelling Indian populations, and in this respect, Office of Economic Opportunity programs are very much like Bureau of Indian Affairs programs, themselves primarily reservation-oriented.

The primary justification for Office of Economic Opportunity programs is that, unlike Bureau of Indian Affairs programs which have traditionally been conceived and operated from a colonialist viewpoint, OEO programs have consciously attempted to consider the felt needs of the Indian people in program development and operation. This is not to say, however, that these programs have always met with success in their actual operation, or, for that matter, that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has never in its history developed programs and operated them under the same or a similar philosophy as that of the OEO. As conceived and amended, the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act distinctly provided for the "maximum feasible participation" of poor people by and for whom programs to alleviate poverty were being developed. In 1965 and early 1966, this philosophy indeed appeared to be in operation on Indian reservations where OEO community action programs were being established. As an observer, it was possible to note the effects of community involvement upon program development, operation and evaluation. Often, Indian people who had never before been asked their opinion in a program context began to participate to an extent not possible for them or imagined by them in earlier programs aimed at the alleviation of Indian poverty conditions.

It is necessary to restate at this point that insufficient evidence exists to indict the Bureau of Indian Affairs for its failure to provide similar programs based upon a participation philosophy for reservation Indian people. But, on the other hand, this same lack of historical information or documentation does not allow us to indicate the contrary.

In 1966, at approximately mid-year, the Office of Economic Opportunity began to issue in increasing numbers memoranda to Indian community action programs. In the main, these served to delimit the range and depth of community involvement activities practiced by those agencies. This was also true in non-Indian community action programs in rural and urban areas. At White Earth, Minnesota, these memoranda severely delimited the power of OEO social action professionals and their community aides in their attempts to seriously involve Indian people in program development, operation and critique. Yet, while it was recognized by local CAP employees at the programs that these memoranda would seriously hamper the basic enactment of the EOA philosophy, little beyond occasional complaint was done to stem this change. This is ironic, if only because more direct and relevant action as conceived under the prevailing community action approach might have served, at least partially, to arrest the OEO movement away from implementation of the community action philosophy set out in the 1964 EOA, as amended.

This should not be seen as a historical development which essentially invalidates the basic philosophy of the EOA for Indian reservations. It would seem that the philosophy does in fact work when it is given a chance to develop, and when participants at higher levels than the individual reservation CAP believe in the philosophy and act to see to it that the philosophy may develop within practical programs at lower levels. These instances, however, appear to be few through the developmental history of OEO Indian CAPs, and it is probable that few actual community involvement activities of the type once thought possible are actually working on Indian reservations at this time. In this sense, it is probably more consistent, if one wishes to indict an agency, to indict the Office of Economic Opportunity for failure to live up to a stated philosophy than to indict the Bureau of Indian Affairs for failing to live up to a philosophy which it has stated far less didactically and convincingly than OEO. In the Bureau, it is fashionable to use the rhetoric of community involvement, but it is understood by all who are connected with the Bureau and by other observers that the Bureau is ill-fitted to actually enact this philosophy in a concrete way. On the other hand, OEO is somewhat less constrained by long tradition and comparatively ancient bureaucratic rigidity, and therefore, in some observers' minds, should be under less restraint in the enactment of the involvement philosophy. According to these same observers, it should thereby show greater results.

Another reason that OEO community action programs operating more or less under the EOA philosophy seem to be justified is that they provide competition for Bureau of Indian Affairs programs, and by their very existence, a yardstick by which to measure the relevance and progress of Bureau programs. Since neither the Bureau of Indian Affairs nor the Office of Economic Opportunity traditionally have employed the usual research techniques to determine program relevance and effectiveness, the comparative approach used by outside observers between two competing agencies may then be very nearly one of the only relevant techniques for program evaluation. Indian people, however, have already less formally evaluated those Bureau of Indian Affairs and OEO anti-poverty programs on reservations. Like the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the OEO has come in for its own criticisms by Indian people. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is traditionally scored for rigidity and irrelevance. Office of Economic Opportunity programs are also scored for rigidity and irrelevance, but not always for the same reasons.

Traditional Bureau of Indian Affairs programs were meant to contain the Indian population until it could be acculturated to the point where assimilation was possible. This assimilation was to occur both on an individual and group basis, and involved development of reservation communities and a siren call away from them. OEO programs have also developed in at least two basic directions. They have sought to develop the reservation community as well as develop people and groups in the direction of assimilation into the "mainstream" of society. Superficially, it may appear that both Bureau programs and OEO programs are therefore somewhat similar; that is, that they are both two-pronged or even ambivalent.

This should not, however, mask the differences of approach between the two programs. While Bureau programs have traditionally stressed an authoritarian or neo-colonialist approach to Indian people, allowing them very little say in the development of reservation programs, OEO programs have, on the whole, provided Indians with far more participatory rights or privileges in reservation programs. Therefore, whether Bureau programs or OEO programs are directed at reservation development or assimilation, OEO programs seem to have the advantage of allowing Indian people to participate in those developments that will affect their futures.

Comparisons between OEO and Bureau programs make it obvious that Bureau programs, and their deficiencies, particularly, have been brought to light in the past several years far more distinctly than they have in the past. It is likely that the competition between personnel, agencies, and philosophies of the OEO and Bureau programs have aided this uncovering process. This is not to imply that OEO programs are fault-free. Indeed, the contrary may be more true. Yet, given a choice between the operating philosophies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Economic Opportunity, most critical social observers and, probably most Indian people, would choose the philosophy of the Office of Economic Opportunity over the underlying operating philosophy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which puts far less stress on community involvement, traditionally, and which employs a late-arriving community involvement rhetoric that to many Indians and other observers has little basis in operational programs.

The competition between OEO and Bureau programs has apparently caused changes in the Bureau. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has at this time a community development office under the directorship of a very able Assistant Superintendent for Community Development. The philosophy of this assistant superintendent is very much like that expressed by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, as amended, and certain OEO officials. Unfortunately, this superintendent appears to be limited in his attempt to operationalize his philosophy by a lack of funds, and by a lack of sympathy within tradition-bound elements of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. While change as a result of the EOA is occuring within the Bureau, that agency's longer traditional hold on a different philosophy has created a more formidable image problem to work with than in the past, as well as greater internal problems with staff whose opinions are not readily changed. A serious error in evaluating the stance of the Bureau of Indian Affairs toward Indian people in contemporary society would be to assume that the Bureau is uncaring for Indian people and not knowledgeable at the highest levels about current human development philosophies; the contrary is probably true. But in its bureaucratic proportions, the Bureau is like the dinosaur whose head wishes to move one way for all the right reasons, but whose body, trapped in a tar pit, refuses to go along. Only Congress can move the beast and, in this case, Congress does a poor job of beast-tending.

Today, it is likely that at least some Indians are becoming restive as they watch black people achieve some of their goals through means not traditionally acceptable to Indian people. This time, a few Indians, many of them older and nominally more traditional, are living in Resurrection City in the National capitol, and are in some cases directly participating in and organizing some of the first direct demonstrative assaults against the institutions which have, in their minds, kept Indian people in a position of low national status. Indeed, some of the Indians who are participating in the poor people' demonstrations in Washington are not asking for changes, but are instead demanding them. They are asking for guaranteed jobs, guaranteed incomes, housing, schools, and economic development. But perhaps the most significant factor in the climate of these demands is that these Indians demand what they wish "on their own terms".

The Indians who are involved in the poor people's campaign are in some cases saying that their chief tie with the federal government, the Department of the Interior, has abjectly failed them. They say that the Department of the Interior has failed them because "it has built upon and operates under a racist, immoral, paternalistic and colonialistic system." These Indians are demanding to be recognized for what they think they are, rather than what others in bureaucratic positions think they are. They say they are not middle-class, white aspirants in a crassly economic framework, but that they are members of "tribal families" with strong social ties. They are asking why they must beg for supports already promised them - and in some cases contractually due them - from the federal government. Above all, these Indians protest the paternalism which they say robs them of initiative and self-respect, and which makes it difficult for them to operate programs for which funding is provided by Washington. In this regard, these Indians think of the prerogatives, many of them new, offered under reservation-based anti-poverty programs as a form of tokenism. Similarly, they regard as tokenism many of the measures by which anti-poverty programs may be run by local Indian control, since they regard these programs as having been largely dictated from Washington, and program guidelines not suited for reservation life.

In the field of education are these newly-outspoken Indians particularly adament about what they see as white paternalism and internal colonialism. They regard the traditionally-operated Bureau schools and public schools as training grounds for racism. They think that Indian children are subtley told in these schools of their inferiority, and that this growing sense of inferiority helps to doom these children in the crucial areas of self identity and control over one's adult life. With the drop-out rate for Indian children very high, sometimes 70% and higher, these Indians feel that adequate blame is still not being directed toward the schools themselves, but is rather being directed to Indian children and Indian communities. They disagree with this imposition of blame. One practical suggestion to alleviate these conditions has come in the form of a call for community schools which would emphasize rather than de-emphasize community values and attitudes in the conduct of the schools.

Therefore, at least in this group of Indian people, the call for change is being heard loudly and clearly in the context of changes in tactics. In some cases, these changes in tactics are already occuring; in other cases, they are on the horizon. Among so-called red power groups in American city ghetto areas, it is now not uncommon to hear suggestions being made for Indian demonstrations and riots modeled on those that have proven moderately successful for black populations. An aspect of the newly-outspoken and demanding Indian movement in Washington has been an attack upon one member of the OEO Indian desk, who has been charged with insensitivity in the face of such a grave Indian problem as starvation among Indian children.

Therefore, the contemporary Indian political scene, as always, is rapidly developing, not only in directions that have been already documented on Indian reservations where community action programs have been operating under OEO, but also in urban settings where programs have not been operating, but where newly-arrived reservation Indians are finding a new voice and the beginnings of new tactics as a result of their common experiences with other urban minority groups. Yet the road ahead is long, if the thesis set out in the earlier position statement is generally valid.

The next several sections of the report will deal specifically with population characteristics of poor Indians and whites at Blue Pine Reservation.

V. Blue Pine Indian And White People

A. Population survey design

In late 1966, the Community Action Program at Blue Pine performed a complete survey of the Reservation Indian population, together with a sample survey of poor whites also served by the CAP. These data, collected by Indian para-professionals under the direction of a professional sociologist acting as a social worker on the CAP staff, were turned over to this project for analysis. In October, 1967, a report summarizing these and other data was given to the Director of the CAP.

B. General socioeconomic characteristics of both populations by age category

As Table VII shows, degree of Indian heritage has been declining on the Reservation over time. The significance of this trend is not easy to arrive at, since many exceptions are made to laws and regulations governing the eligibility of Indian parents and their children for BIA and Public Health Service (PHS) benefits. Perhaps more clear are the effects of lightening skin coloration and modified Indian features upon local Reservation class indices: as darker features become less common, more and more problems accrue to the "black Indian" as opposed to others, irrespective, often, of degree of acculturation to local white standards. A "white Indian" is locally middle class, regardless of skin tone, but that tone is almost invariably light.

TABLE VII: DEGREE OF INDIAN HERITAGE FOR MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		-¼	¼ to ½	½ to 3/4	3/4 to full
0-5	176 M	26%	45%	2%	27%
	183 F	22	52	4	22
6-13	206 M	23	43	7	27
	241 F	22	51	5	22
14-19	121 M	18	49	7	26
	113 F	19	47	10	24
20-25	40 M	22	45	3	30
	59 F	15	46	2	37
26-35	66 M	15	39	2	44
	78 F	17	38	1	44
36-45	59 M	17	41	12	30
	52 F	10	48	2	40
46-55	60 M	22	40	0	38
	50 F	22	24	6	48
56-65	39 M	13	44	2	41
	30 F	27	33	0	40
65 up	32 M	16	44	0	40
	41 F	10	34	2	54

The nominal eligibility of Indian and white persons for PHS services reflects intermarriage, as Table VIII shows. Females married to Indian males are sometimes not eligible because they are themselves white, and females married to whites may in some cases be eligible because they are Indian.

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TABLE VIII: PUBLIC HEALTH ELIGIBILITY OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years			Yes	No
0-5	Indian	182 M	68%	32%
		183 F	74	26
	White	49 M	0	100
		58 F	0	100
	Indian	206 M	79	21
		241 F	75	25
	White	100 M	0	100
		94 F	0	100
14-19	Indian	121 M	81	19
		113 F	69	31
	White	71 M	0	100
		55 F	0	100
20-25	Indian	40 M	97	3
		59 F	76	24
	White	22 M	0	100
		19 F	37	63
26-35	Indian	66 M	98	2
		78 F	85	15
	White	46 M	0	100
		38 F	13	87
36-45	Indian	59 M	95	5
		52 F	83	17
	White	53 M	0	100
		55 F	9	91
46-55	Indian	60 M	98	2
		50 F	84	16
	White	52 M	0	100
		53 F	19	81
56-65	Indian	39 M	87	13
		30 F	83	17
	White	53 M	0	100
		33 F	3	97
65 up	Indian	33 M	79	21
		41 F	71	29
	White	51 M	0	100
		48 F	4	96

Yet, as inferred, broad interpretations of the rules governing eligibility exist in practice, so that many persons listing themselves as ineligible may under certain circumstances receive benefits.

Both whites and Indians are strongly oriented to Catholicism, and Indians prefer the Episcopal faith over other Protestant affiliations. Whites who are not Catholic are largely Lutheran. Whites do appear (Table IX) to be moving toward Catholicism over the years, as Indians seem to be collectively preferring a more varied religious experience. An interesting aspect of these data is the near absence of nonaffiliation of Indians as compared with whites, whose nonaffiliation is substantial although, like Indians, decreasing over the years. No Midewiwin religion formally remains at Blue Pine.

Missionary leadership in the villages is very weak. Morale among the clergy itself is usually low, and some clergy have more or less retreated from the population's lack of interest into hobbies and, now and then, general inactivity.

TABLE IX: RELIGION AND WHITE MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years			Cath.	Eps.	Other Chris.	No. Afil.
0-5	Indian	176 M	51%	31%	18%	0%
		183 F	43	34	21	2
	White	49 M	63	0	33	4
		58 F	59	0	33	8
6-13	Indian	206 M	52	32	16	0
		241 F	56	28	16	0
	White	100 M	64	0	35	1
		94 F	49	0	46	5
14-19	Indian	121 M	58	27	13	2
		113 F	63	20	17	0
	White	71 M	53	0	41	6
		55 F	55	0	43	2
20-25	Indian	40 M	48	32	20	0
		59 F	32	46	22	0
	White	22 M	68	5	23	4
		19 F	58	10	32	0
26-35	Indian	66 M	50	39	9	2
		78 F	56	30	14	0
	White	46 M	44	2	43	11
		38 F	55	3	34	8
36-45	Indian	59 M	44	37	17	2
		52 F	56	34	10	0
	White	53 M	43	0	49	8
		55 F	47	2	47	4
46-55	Indian	60 M	50	37	8	5
		50 F	76	6	16	2
	White	52 M	50	4	46	0
		53 F	43	6	45	6
56=65	Indian	39 M	69	21	5	5
		30 F	73	20	7	0
	White	53 M	47	5	38	10
		33 F	55	0	33	12
65 up	Indian	32 M	53	34	10	3
		41 F	56	34	10	0
	White	50 M	34	0	56	10
		47 F	36	2	60	2

Table X reveals important discrepancies in educational level by year of full completion between Indians and whites. In the age range 14 - 25, white males have completed high school in 43% of the cases; Indian males in 16%. For the same range, Indian females have completed in 15% of the cases, and white females in 56% of the cases. When it is considered that these whites who were surveyed are themselves poor, these generally sobering data are particularly tragic for Indians, despite a general trend of increased educational attainment over the years for both peoples. Similarly, females tend to outpace males educationally among both.

As we will attempt to show later in this report, the differences noted in educational attainment between Indians and whites should not be surprising for some very basic reasons related to cross-cultural stress. Generally, when the differential income, employment, and general life-style correlates of low Indian educational attainment are considered, a bleak picture emerges. However, even with a high school diploma, Chippewa Indian men, especially, may have poor employment records for reasons directly related to cultural differences and cross-cultural problems.

TABLE X: EDUCATION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

			Education (in years)					
Years		182 M	**0-5**	**5-8**	**8-10**	**11**	**12**	**13**
0-5	Indian	182 M	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		183 F	100	0	0	0	0	0
	White	49 M	100%	0	0	0	0	0
		58 F	100	0	0	0	0	0
6-13	Indian	206 M	71	29	0	0	0	0
		241 F	63	37	0	0	0	0
	White	100 M	65	35	0	0	0	0
		94 F	64	36	0	0	0	0
14-19	Indian	121 M	0	30	51	12	7	0
		113 F	0	26	50	21	2	1
	White	71 M	2	21	32	23	18	4
		55 F	2	24	42	9	18	5
20-25	Indian	40 M	2	17	48	8	20	5
		59 F	0	0	54	17	22	7
	White	22 M	5	9	18	5	45	18
		19 F	0	0	5	5	58	32
26-35	Indian	65 M	0	38	31	1	22	8
		78 F	0	30	24	14	22	10
	White	46 M	2	28	23	7	33	7
		38 F	0	18	8	5	58	11
36-45	Indian	59 M	5	65	15	2	10	3
		52 F	0	52	27	10	11	0
	White	53 M	2	51	17	5	17	8
		55 F	0	29	15	7	36	13
46-55	Indian	60 M	7	67	15	8	2	1
		50 F	2	50	30	4	12	2
	White	51 M	4	70	2	2	18	4
		51 F	4	55	8	6	21	6
56-65	Indian	39 M	18	78	2	0	2	0
		30 F	14	48	17	7	7	7
	White	51 M	6	74	10	0	2	8
		33 F	3	70	3	0	15	9
65 up	Indian	32 M	47	50	3	0	0	0
		41 F	27	59	5	5	2	2
	White	51 M	22	72	0	2	2	2
		48 F	15	67	6	0	6	6

Marital status distributions for both populations reveal the lower Indian life expectancy and the higher proportion of unmarried (but not necessarily unattached) males. Low divorce frequencies in both populations suggest the influence of Catholicism and the tendency of persons to separate with divorce. The latter is often the case in both populations, but more often in the Indian.

TABLE XI: MARITAL STATUS OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years			U	S	M	W	D	C
0-5	Indian	182 M						
		183 F						
	White	48 M	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		58 F	0	100	0	0	0	0
6-13	Indian	206 M						
		241 F						
	White	100 M						
		94 F	0	100	0	0	0	0
14-19	Indian	121 M	0	97	3	0	0	0
		113 F	4	88	8	0	0	0
	White	71 M		97				
		55 F	0	96	4	0	0	0
20-25	Indian	40 M	0	65	33	0	0	2
		59 F	25	13	51	2	2	7
	White	22 M	0	64	36	0	0	0
		19 F	5	21	74	0	0	0
26-35	Indian	66 M	0	23	76	0	0	1
		78 F	4	2	85	1	4	4
	White	45 M	0	16	82	2	0	0
		38 F	0	0	100	0	0	0
36-45	Indian	59 M	1	25	68	3	3	0
		52 F	2	3	83	4	4	4
	White	53 M	0	11	89	0	0	0
		55 F	0	0	95	5	0	0
46-55	Indian	60 M	0	18	75	3	4	0
		50 F	0	2	82	10	4	2
	White	52 M	0	8	90	2	0	0
		53 F	0	2	88	8	2	0
56-65	Indian	39 M	0	13	82	2	3	0
		30 F	0	0	80	20	0	0
	White	53 M	0	10	83	4	3	0
		33 F	0	6	79	15	0	0
65 up	Indian	32 M	0	9	66	25	0	0
		41 F	0	7	32	56	0	5
	White	51 M	0	8	86	6	0	0
		48 F	0	4	65	31	0	0

Head of household data (Table XII) by six and age category reveal great differences between the two populations. Indian males tend to become heads of households less often in the younger years than white males, and Indian females are far more likely to be heads of households than white females, especially at 65 years and above, where the low life expectancy of Indian males has taken a huge toll.

TABLE XII: HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD
INDIAN AND WHITE MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years			Yes	No
0-5	Indian	182 M	0%	100%
		183 F	0	100
	White	49 M	0	100
		58 F	0	100
6-13	Indian	206 M	0	100
		241 F	0	100
	White	100 M	0	100
		94 F	0	100
14-19	Indian	121 M	2	98
		113 F	0	100
	White	71 M	0	100
		55 F		
20-25	Indian	40 M	25	75
		59 F	12	88
	White	22 M	32	68
		19 F	0	100
26-35	Indian	63 M	73	27
		78 F	10	90
	White	48 M	77	23
		38 F	0	100
36-45	Indian	59 M	73	27
		52 F	12	88
	White	52 M	89	11
		55 F	5	95
46-55	Indian	59 M	80	20
		50 F	18	82
	White	52 M	98	2
		52 F	24	76
56-65	Indian	35 M	97	3
		30 F	20	80
	White	53 M	92	8
		53 F	24	76
65 up	Indian	31 M	90	10
		41 F	51	49
	White	50 M	94	6
		48 F	19	81

Income data (Table XIII) show what could be expected; law incomes for both Indians and whites. Yet, even a casual glance at the tabular summary indicates great discrepancies between the earnings of the two populations. For all age categories, from 20 through 65, Indian males earning $3,000 to $4,999 average 17.4%, while poor white males average 40.8%, or more than twice the Indian proportion. Only 5% of the Indian males aged 20 and above earn $5,000 or more, while 15.5%, or three times this proportion, from similarly aged white males earn $5,000 or more. Thus, while both populations inhabit on-reservation counties that carry the label "low income", Indians from these same three counties are far worse off in the crucial area of income than their white counterparts.

TABLE XIII: INCOME OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years			0 to 999	1,000 to 1.999	2,000 to 2.999	3,000 to 3.999	4,000 to 4.999	over 5.000
0-5	Indian	182 M	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		183 F	0	0	0	0	0	0
	White	49 M	0	0	0	0	0	0
		58 F	0	0	0	0	0	0
6-13	Indian	206 M	0	0	0	0	0	0
		241 F	0.4	0	0	0	0	0
	White	100 M	0	0	0	0	0	0
		94 F	0	0	0	0	0	0
14-19	Indian	21 M	52	48	0	0	0	0
		8 F	50	38	12	0	0	0
	White	11 M	91	9	0	0	0	0
		5 F	40	20	40	0	0	0
20-25	Indian	29 M	24	31	35	0	10	0
		21 F	48	28	14	10	0	0
	White	17 M	0	41	17	12	18	12
		9 F	45	11	22	0	22	0
26-35	Indian	66 M	21	36	15	15	8	5
		37 F	38	19	32	8	0	3
	White	44 M	4	9	16	23	25	23
		5 F	40	0	60	0	0	0
36-45	Indian	58 M	21	24	15	17	9	14
		25 F	52	20	8	16	4	0
	White	52	2	9	13	35	9	31
		11 F	0	18	37	36	0	9
46-55	Indian	59 M	29	34	14	12	3	8
		22 F	41	45	14	0	0	0
	White	52 M	4	18	15	23	27	13
		17 F	24	12	35	18	0	11
56-65	Indian	37 M	43	19	22	8	5	3
		16 F	44	25	6	13	6	6
	White	53 M	11	17	30	17	15	10
		8 F	50	38	0	12	0	0
65 up	Indian	32 M	50	44	6	0	0	0
		36 F	58	36	6	0	0	0
	White	51 M	33	39	16	8	0	4
		27 F	67	22	11	0	0	0

C. General socioeconomic characteristics of both populations by village or town residence

Indians and whites tend to be geographically separated at Blue Pine by community type. Indians tend to live in the four major villages; whites in or near the border towns. The following data indicate certain socioeconomic characteristics of Indians in villages, and of some Indians living near border towns. In a few cases, these Indians lived within two small border towns.

THE "TYPICAL" MALE INDIAN VILLAGER:

Was age 16 or below		52%
Was single		51%
Was not head of a household		62%
Was the son of a head of household		56%
Was ½ - 3/4 Indian heritage	43%	
or was 3/4 - full Indian heritage	29%	
		72%
Was too young to earn an income or did not answer		62%
Ranked at an education level of:		
0 - 5 years	25%	
or 5 - 8 years	33%	
		58%
Was too young to have an occupation or did not answer		70%
Was too young or did not answer when asked to rate job skill		82%
Reported a religious choice of:		
Catholic	41%	
or Episcopal	42%	
		83%

Indicated a non-veteran status		55%
Indicated eligibility for public health services		56%
Was not aged or handicapped		98%

THE "TYPICAL" FEMALE INDIAN VILLAGER:

Was age 16 or below		54%
Was single		47%
Was not head of a household		79%
Was the daughter of a head of household		49%
Was ½ - 3/4 Indian heritage	45%	
or was 3/5 - full Indian heritage	38%	
		83%
Was too young to earn an income, or did not answer		80%
Ranked at an educational level of:		
0 - 5 years	28%	
or 5 - 8 years	27%	
		55%
Was too young to have an occupation, or did not answer		87%
Was too young or did not answer when asked to rate her skill		93%
Reported a religious choice of:		
Catholic	42%	
or Episcopal	43%	
		85%
Indicated eligibility for public health services		55%
Was not aged or handicapped		97%

early twenties, almost entirely to Minneapolis - St. Paul.

TABLE XIV: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	16 & below	17 - 21	22 - 40	41 - 65	66+
Village A						
97 M	0	54	12	22	10	2
87 F	1	54	10	22	10	3
Village B						
114 M	0	52	5	24	13	6
114 F	0	59	4	21	12	4
Village C						
168 M	3	49	7	14	23	4
161 F	4	50	7	16	16	7
Village D						
153 M	6	54	8	13	16	3
160 F	6	54	8	14	14	4
All Villages						
532 M	2	52	8	18	16	4
522 F	3	54	7	18	13	5
1,054 M&F	3	52	8	18	14	5

Table XV illustrates how poorly villagers are educated, but with no industry present, somewhat more education would probably do the determined reservation dweller little or no good unless he cared to commute over long distances to and from work in Fargo or Moorhead.

THE "TYPICAL" INDIAN VILLAGER (MALES AND FEMALES COMBINED):

Was age 16 or below		52%
Was single		49%
Was not head of a household		71%
Was the son of a head of household	32%	
or the daughter of a head of household	27%	59%
Was ½ - 3/4 Indian heritage	43%	
or was 3/4 - full Indian heritage	34%	77%
Was too young or did not answer when asked his/her income		71%
Ranked at an educational level of:		
0 - 5 years	28%	
or 5 - 8 years	30%	58%
Was too young to have an occupation or did not answer		79%
Was too young or did not answer when asked to rate job skill		88%
Reported a religious choice of:		
Catholic	42%	
or Episcopal	42%	84%
Indicated eligibility for public health services		56%
Was not aged or handicapped		98%

Tables XIV through XVII illustrate more completely certain features of Indian village populations. The residents tend to be young (Table XIV), with a heavy out-migration in the late teens and

TABLE XV: EDUCATION (HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED) DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	0-5 yrs	5-9 yrs	9-10 yrs	11 yrs	12 yrs	13+
Village A							
97 M	29	19	30	15	3	4	0
87 F	21	25	30	16	5	3	0
Village B							
114 M	3	38	26	14	1	4	4
114 F	2	46	17	17	6	8	4
Village C							
168 M	21	17	45	9	4	4	0
161 F	23	16	31	12	6	6	6
Village D							
153 M	19	25	32	19	1	3	1
160 F	18	23	31	16	9	3	0
All Villages							
532 M	19	25	33	15	2	4	1
522 F	16	28	27	15	7	5	2
1,054 M&F	18	28	30	15	4	4	1

The heavy proportion of female heads of households is indicated in Table XVI, and Table XVII, in all probability indicates a misleadingly low tendency of nuclear families to exist without many relatives living in.

TABLE XVI: HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Yes	No
Village A			
97 M	6	30	64
87 F	6	9	85
Village B			
114 M	0	30	70
114 F	0	5	95
Village C			
168 M	25	31	44
161 F	28	16	56
Village D			
153 M	2	29	69
160 F	4	14	82
All Villages			
532 M	8	30	62
522 F	10	11	79
1,054 M&F	9	20	71

TABLE XVII: RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Spouse	Son	Daughter	Other Relative	Not Related
Village A						
97 M	27	11	54	8	0	0
87 F	8	33	8	49	2	0
Village B						
114 M	28	4	56	1	10	1
114 F	5	25	4	54	9	3
Village C						
168 M	27	2	61	3	7	0
161 F	17	25	2	49	7	0
Village D						
153 M	7	30	52	3	8	0
160 F	5	33	16	40	6	0
All Villages						
532 M	32	12	56	4	6	0
522 F	6	30	8	49	6	1
1,054 M&F	14	21	32	27	6	0

Data on Indian town dwellers, or those mainly living near but not in towns (with two exceptions), displayed general characteristics quite like those of village dwellers.

THE "TYPICAL" MALE INDIAN TOWN DWELLER:

Was age 16 or below	56%

Was single		44%
Was not head of a household		61%
Was less than ¼ Indian heritage	30%	
or was ½ - 3/4 Indian heritage	54%	
		84%
Was too young to earn an income or did not answer		71%
Ranked at an educational level of:		
0 - 5 years	34%	
or 5 - 8 years	22%	
		56%
Was too young to have an occupation or did not answer		77%
Was too young or did not answer when asked to rate job skill		85%
Reported a religious choice of Catholic		64%
Indicated eligibility for public health services		52%

THE "TYPICAL" FEMALE INDIAN TOWN DWELLER:

Was age 16 or below		64%
Was single		48%
Was not head of a household		86%
Was less than ¼ Indian heritage	37%	
or was ½ - 3/4 Indian heritage	52%	
		89%
Was too young to earn an income or did not answer		93%
Ranked at an educational level of:		
0 - 5 years	39%	
or 5 - 8 years	30%	
		69%

Was too young to have an occupation or did not answer		93%
Was too young or did not answer when asked to rate her job skill		95%
Reported a religious choice of Catholic		55%
Indicated ineligibility for public health services		52%

THE "TYPICAL" INDIAN TOWN DWELLER (MALES AND FEMALES COMBINED):

Was age 16 or below		59%
Was single		46%
Was not head of a household		74%
Was less than ¼ Indian heritage	34%	
or was ½ - 3/4 Indian heritage	53%	
		87%
Was too young to earn an income or did not answer		82%
Ranked at an educational level of:		
0 - 5 years	36%	
or 5 - 8 years	26%	
		62%
Was too young to have an occupation or did not answer		85%
Was too young or did not answer when asked to rate job skill		90%
Reported a religious choice of Catholic		59%
Was equally likely to report eligibility for public health services	48%	
or non-eligibility for public health services	48%	
		96%

The age distribution of the Indian town population shows roughly the same characteristics as the village population (Table XVIII). Educational levels are low, but show higher achievement than the village population, with some persons having obtained a year or more of college (Table XIX). Fewer females are heads of households in Indian town families (Table XX).

TABLE XVIII: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	16 & below	17-21	22-40	41-65	66 & up
Town A						
30 M	3	57	7	13	13	7
26 F	0	62	12	15	7	4
Town B						
75 M	1	48	17	21	13	0
90 F	1	63	7	11	18	0
Town C						
134 M	1	65	9	10	13	2
147 F	0	65	6	15	13	1
Town D						
182 M	3	54	8	16	12	7
33 F	0	67	9	9	9	6
All Towns						
421 M	2	56	10	15	13	4
296 F	0	64	9	13	12	2
717 M&F	1	59	10	14	13	3

TABLE XIX: EDUCATION (HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED)
DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	0-5 yrs	5-8 yrs	9-10 yrs	11 yrs	12 yrs	13+
Town A							
30 M	10	50	13	13	7	7	0
26 F	15	38	12	22	9	4	0
Town B							
75 M	5	29	23	21	0	0	4
90 F	0	37	59	4	0	0	0
Town C							
134 M	19	40	25	11	1	3	1
147 F	14	33	26	17	5	4	1
Town D							
182 M	22	22	28	10	5	8	5
33 F	9	46	24	9	3	9	0
All Towns							
421 M	15	34	22	14	6	7	2
296 F	10	39	30	13	4	4	0
717 M&F	13	36	26	13	5	6	1

TABLE XX: HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Yes	No
Town A			
30 M	10	30	60
26 F	7	7	86
Town B			
75 M	11	28	61
90 F	9	3	88
Town C			
134 M	10	24	66
147 F	10	7	83
Tow **Town D**			
182 M	25	19	56
33 F	3	9	88
All Towns			
421 M	14	25	61
296 F	7	7	86
717 M&F	10	16	74

A direct comparative view of certain major socioeconomic variables serves to highlight similarities and differences between the two Indian populations.

First, as Table XXI depicts, the age distribution of both populations is very much alike, indicating an extreme dip in the

17 - 21 range, and revealing the low life expectancy of Blue Pine Indian People.

TABLE XXI: COMPARATIVE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	16 & below	17-21	22-40	41-65	66 & above
All Villages						
532 M	2	52	8	18	16	4
522 F	3	54	7	18	13	5
1,054 M&F	3	52	8	18	14	5
All Towns						
421 M	2	56	10	15	13	4
296 F	0	64	9	13	12	2
717 M&F	1	59	10	14	13	3
Reservation						
953 M	2	54	9	16	15	4
818 F	2	58	8	16	13	3
1,872 M&F	2	56	8	16	14	4

Second, with minor differences associated with slightly higher widowed proportions (villages), and mentioned but low proportions of divorced persons (towns), the two populations are quite alike in terms of marital status (Table XXII).

TABLE XXII: COMPARATIVE MARITAL STATUS DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	Married	Single	Widowed	Divorced	Unwed Mother
All Villages						
532 M	17	30	51	2	0	0
522 F	15	30	47	6	0	2
1,054 M&F	16	30	49	4	0	1
All Towns						
421 M	25	28	44	2	1	0
296 F	22	23	48	3	2	2
717 M&F	24	26	46	2	1	1
Reservation						
953 M	21	29	48	2	0	0
818 F	19	26	48	4	1	2
1,872 M&F	20	28	48	3	0	1

Third, the distribution of household heads in the two populations is very similar (Table XXIII).

TABLE XXIII: COMPARATIVE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Yes	No
All Villages			
532 M	8	30	62
522 F	10	11	79
1,054 M&F	9	20	71
All Towns			
421 M	14	25	61
296 F	7	7	86
717 M&F	10	16	74
Reservation			
953 M	11	28	61
818 F	8	9	83
1,872 M&F	10	18	82

Fourth, village Indians are more likely to claim a greater degree of Indian heritage (Table XXIV), with 72% and 83% of these males and females claiming, respectively, ½ to full heritage, as compared to 64% and 59% of the male and female town dwellers.

TABLE XXIV: COMPARATIVE DEGREE OF INDIAN HERITAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	Less than 1/4	1/2 - 3/4	3/4 - Full	White
All Villages					
532 M	9	15	43	29	4
522 F	6	9	45	38	2
1,054 M&F	8	12	43	34	3
All Towns					
421 M	4	30	54	10	2
296 F	4	37	53	6	0
717 M&F	4	34	53	8	1
Reservation					
953 M	6	23	48	20	3
818 F	5	23	49	22	1
1,872 M&F	6	23	48	21	2

Fifth, probably due to the funding inputs from the local CAP, Blue Pine villagers tend to earn a little more money than their town counterparts, although both earn far less than local "poor" whites (Table XXV)

TABLE XXV: COMPARATIVE INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	0 to 999	1000 to 1999	2000 to 2999	3000 to 3999	4000 to 4999	5000
All Villages							
532 M	62	12	11	6	6	2	1
522 F	80	11	6	2	1	0	0
1,054 M&F	71	12	8	4	4	1	0
All Towns							
421 M	71	9	8	6	3	1	2
296 F	93	4	2	1	0	0	0
717 M&F	82	7	5	4	1	0	1
Reservation							
953 M	67	10	10	6	4	1	2
818 F	87	7	4	2	0	0	0
1,872 M&F	77	10	6	4	3	0	0

Sixth, the educational attainment levels of the two populations are, overall, very similar, and both very low (Table XXVI). Town dwellers do have a small edge in high school graduates.

TABLE XXVI: COMPARATIVE EDUCATION DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	0-5 years	5-8 years	9-10 years	11 years	12 years	13+
All Villages							
532 M	19	25	33	15	2	4	1
522 F	16	28	27	15	7	5	2
1,054 M&F	18	28	30	15	4	4	1
All Towns							
421 M	15	34	22	14	6	7	2
296 F	10	39	39	13	4	4	0
717 M&F	13	36	26	13	5	6	1
Reservation							
953 M	17	30	28	14	4	5	2
818 F	13	34	28	14	6	4	1
1,872 M&F	15	32	28	14	5	5	1

Seventh, both populations have highly similar job title profiles (Table XXVII), with most persons too young to work or employed at seasonal farm- and forest-related labor.

TABLE XXVII: COMPARATIVE JOB TITLE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	PTM	CS	SO	FFF	P	MT	BW	S	M
All Villages										
532 M	70	2	1	7	15	0	1	1	1	2
522 F	87	0	1	5	1	0	3	1	0	2
1,054 M&F	79	1	1	6	8	0	2	1	0	2
All Towns										
421 M	77	1	1	4	10	2	2	0	2	1
296 F	93	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	1
717 M&F	85	1	0	5	5	1	1	0	1	1
Reservation										
953 M	74	1	1	6	12	1	1	0	2	2
818 F	91	0	0	5	0	0	2	0	0	2
1,872 M&F	83	0	0	6	6	0	2	0	1	2

PTM = Professional, Technical, Managerial
CS = Clerical, Sales
SO = Service Occupation
FFF = Farm, Fish, Forestry
P = Processing
MT = Machines Trade
BW = Bench Work
S = Structural
M = Miscellaneous

Eighth, Table XXVIII indicates important differences in religious affiliation, with town dwellers decidedly more Catholic and Lutheran, and less Episcopal than village people.

TABLE XXVIII: COMPARATIVE RELIGIOUS CHOICE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGE AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	Catholic	Episcopal	Other Christian	Non-Affiliated
All Villages					
532 M	5	41	42	10	2
522 F	2	42	43	13	0
1,054 M&F	3	42	42	12	1
All Towns					
421 M	2	64	17	16	1
296 F	2	55	12	28	3
717 M&F	2	59	15	22	2
Reservation					
953 M	4	52	30	13	1
818 F	2	49	27	21	1
1,872 M&F	3	51	28	17	1

Ninth, Table XXIX shows a tendency for village dwellers to be more often nominally eligible for PHS services than town persons.

TABLE XXIX: COMPARATIVE PUBLIC HEALTH ELIGIBILITY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGE AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Yes	No
All Villages			
532 M	6	56	38
522 F	7	55	38
1,054 M&F	7	56	37
All Towns			
421 M	3	52	45
296 F	4	44	52
717 M&F	4	48	48
Reservation			
953 M	5	54	41
818 F	6	50	44
1,872 M&F	6	52	42

These data specify some of the socioeconomic dimensions of village and town life for Blue Pine Indians. They are a poverty population by these standards.

D. Blue Pine Indian and white heads of households: General Socioeconomic characteristics of both populations

Heads of households appear to emerge at an earlier age among Indians at Blue Pine, as Table XXX shows for the age category 17 - 21.

TABLE XXX: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	16 & below	17-21	22-40	41-65	66 & above
Indian						
225 M	4	0	4	39	44	9
74 F	0	0	9	28	35	28
299 Avg	2	0	6	33	40	18
White						
194 M	0	0	0	29	51	20
25 F	8	0	0	8	60	24
219 Avg	4	0	0	18	56	22
Both						
	3	0	3	26	48	20

Similarly, Indian persons 22 - 40 are more likely than local poor whites to be heads of households, especially in the case of Indian females, where the proportion is about three and one-half times that of white females. In the later years, male heads of household in the Indian population drop very sharply, probably reflecting low life expectancy more than any other factor. White male heads of household also experience a drop in proportion, but only half as great as Indian males.

The marital status distribution of the two populations (Table XXXI) indicates a very similar proportion of married household heads for both sexes, and a pattern of female marital statuses quite different for Indian and white females.

TABLE XXXI: MARITAL STATUS DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	Married	Single	Widowed	Divorced	Unwed Mother
Indian						
225 M	1	86	8	4	1	0
74 F	12	15	9	44	8	12
299 Avg	7	50	9	24	4	6
White						
194 M	0	91	5	3	1	0
25 F	4	12	16	68	0	0
219 Avg	2	52	10	34	1	0
Both	4	51	10	29	3	3

Whether these figures indicating divorced and unwed mother status reflect social fact directly is highly questionable, especially in the case of white females, who indicated no cases.

The income discrepancy between the two populations appears less great when heads of households are held constant. As Table XXXII shows, Indian females are more likely to be cash breadwinners than poor white females, and twice the proportion of white males earn $5,000 or more than Indian males and females combined.

TABLE XXXII: INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	0 to 999	1000 to 1999	2000 to 2999	3000 to 3999	4000 to 4999	Over 5000
Indian							
225 M	10	23	23	16	14	7	7
74 F	26	28	32	8	5	0	1
299 Avg	18	25	28	12	10	3	4
White							
194 M	10	7	17	16	19	13	18
25 F	4	28	32	24	12	0	0
219 Avg	7	18	25	20	15	6	9
Both	13	22	27	16	12	4	6

A large no answer category complicates the interpretation of these findings, but it is apparent that approximately the same proportion of both populations (Indians 65%, whites 63%) earn less than $3,000 per annum. But almost twice the proportion of whites earn over that.

Low incomes and a non-farm life style make things more difficult for rural Blue Pine Chippewa compared with their poor white counterparts. Whites are far more likely to supplement their diets and budgets with the products of gardens and a small collection of farm animals than Indians, and white housing is generally far better. Poor whites are three times more likely to own a water system than Indians, twice as likely to heat their homes with oil (three times with gas), three times as likely to enjoy indoor flush toilet facilities, twice as likely to have electricity, and three times more likely to live in standard housing and to own their home.

Table XXXIII details the sources of income for both populations. The white tendency toward farm-based self-employment and subsistence through Social Security and related means contrasts with the Indian population.

TABLE XXXIII: SOURCE OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	*	Non-Contributory	General Relief	Employment Earnings	Self-Employed	Other
Indian							
225 M	7	15	4	4	55	9	6
74 F	22	27	22	11	11	1	6
299 Avg	14	21	13	8	33	5	6
White							
194 M	11	21	3	2	32	30	1
25 F	8	56	4	0	16	12	0
219 Avg	10	39	4	1	24	21	1
Both	12	30	8	4	30	13	3

* Contributory Insurance, Social Security, other retirement plans

The general relief category, probably too small, also indicates a major difference.

Poor white household heads are twice as likely to have completed the twelfth grade and perhaps gone beyond than Indian heads of household (Table XXXIV).

TABLE XXXIV: EDUCATION DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	0 - 5	5 - 8	0 - 10	11	12	13 plus
Indian							
225 M	4	10	49	18	6	10	3
74 F	9	8	47	22	5	4	5
299 Avg	7	9	47	20	6	7	4
White							
194 M	1	6	63	9	3	12	6
25 F	0	4	52	12	4	16	12
219 Avg	1	5	58	10	3	14	9
Both	4	7	53	15	4	11	6

Dropout patterns seem to be about the same for both populations, however, with huge non-completion proportions in each. But the functional effects of dropping out, especially in economic terms, are comparatively far less devastating in the case of whites, as has been seen.

E. Blue Pine Indian heads of household, by level of formal education

Where employment is a problem, an inadequate educational background may be at least partly to blame. At Blue Pine, only 12% of the surveyed Indian household heads had completed the twelfth grade. Men led women slightly (by 12% compared to 9%), but the overall picture is depressing (Table XXXV) even when it is considered that younger people have been processed through more years of formal education than older folk.

TABLE XXXV: :AGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE
HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	Below	17-21	22-40	41-65	66+
0-5	23 M	4	0	0	9	57	30
	6 F	0	0	0	0	0	6
5-8	118 M	6	0	1	29	54	10
	41 F	0	0	7	20	45	28
	159	3	0	4	25	49	19
9-10	40 M	3	0	15	57	22	3
	17 F	0	0	12	65	23	0
	57 Avg	2	0	13	61	22	2
11	13 M	0	0	3	3	7	0
	4 F	0	0	1	1	1	1
12	22 M	0	0	0	82	18	0
	3 F	0	0	0	1	1	1
13+	8 M	0	0	0	1	2	1

As Table XXXVI indicates, the majority of Indian household heads have between a fifth and tenth grade education, Of these, there is strong evidence of the early mortality of relatively older men who have completed 5 - 8 grades, and an equally strong indication of comparatively permissive patterns of sexual relationships for the 9 - 10 grade range.

TABLE XXXVI: MARITAL STATUS DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	Married	Single	Widowed	Divorced	Unwed Mother
q 0-5	23 M	0	83	9	4	4	0
	6 F*	0	0	0	6	0	0
5-8	118 M	1	86	8	5	0	0
	41 F	22	5	15	43	10	5
	159 Avg	11	45	12	24	5	3
9-10	40 M	0	85	12	0	3	0
	17 F	0	35	0	24	0	41
	57 Avg	0	60	6	12	1	21
11	13 M*	1	11	0	1	0	0
	4 F*	0	2	0	2	0	0
12	22 M	0	96	4	0	0	0
	3 F*	0	1	0	1	1	0
13+	8 M*	0	7	0	1	0	0
	4 F*	0	1	1	1	1	0

Just about every male household head at Blue Pine is married or was married, but this is not the case for many of the women who preside over households.

Regardless of the level of formal education, most Blue Pine household heads are Catholic (about 50%) or Episcopal (about 30%), with the remainder defining themselves as, predominately, Lutherans or Baptists. No formal evidence of the Mide' religion remains at Blue

Pine, although occasionally an old person mentions one experience of events believed by that person to have Mide'-related significance. But these events are chuckled over by younger people, and even most older folk do not take them very seriously, either.

TABLE XXXVII: RELIGIOUS CHOICE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	Catholic	Episcopal	Other Christian	Non-Affiliated
0-5	23 M	0	57	22	9	12
	6 F*	0	5	1	0	0
5-8	118 M	2	51	33	10	4
	41 F	12	39	39	10	0
	159 Avg	7	46	35	10	2
9-10	40 M	0	52	30	18	0
	17 F	0	58	24	18	0
	57 Avg	0	55	27	18	0
11	13 M*	0	6	3	4	0
	4 F*	0	2	2	0	0
12	22 M	0	63	14	23	0
	3 F*	0	1	1	1	0
13+	8 M*	0	4	1	2	1
	4 F*	0	3	0	0	0

The relationship between formal educational achievement and income for Blue Pine household heads is demonstrated in Table XXXVIII. There is a fairly even descent of proportions of household heads making under $3,000 as educational level increases, while a steady increase occurs for those earning over $3,000 as educational level climbs. For the high school graduate, the likelihood is two to four times as great that he will earn above this amount.

TABLE XXXVIII: INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	0-999	1000-1999	2000-2999	3000-3999	4000-4999	Over 5000
0-5	23 M	4	40	30	17	9	0	0
	6 F*	0	3	3	0	0	0	0
5-8	118 M	9	25	28	17	10	7	4
	41 F	27	29	29	7	8	0	0
	159 Avg	18	27	28	12	9	4	2
9-10	40 M	17	25	17	13	20	3	5
	17 F	24	24	28	18	6	0	0
	57 Avg	20	25	23	16	13	1	2
11	13 M*	1	2	2	3	3	1	1
	4 F*	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
12	22 M	9	4	9	13	23	23	19
	3 F*	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
13+	8 M*	1	0	0	1	1	1	4
	4 F*	1	0	2	0	0	0	1

A breakdown (Table XXXIX) of broad income sources for persons with different educational backgrounds presents an unclear picture, but it is fairly apparent that persons of greater educational achievement are more likely to be employed, and as we have seen, to do better in that employment from the standpoint of income. Unquestionably, the general relief category is far too low, but this represents an understandable reticence on the part of persons under personal questioning, even when the prober is an Indian person.

TABLE XXXIX: SOURCE OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)				Non-Contributory	General Relief	Employment Earnings	Self-Employed	**
0-5	23 M	9	30	4	0	30	18	9
	6 F*	0	4	2	0	0	0	0
5-8	118 M	6	19	7	8	48	7	5
	41 F	27	24	20	17	7	33	2
	159 Avg	17	21	14	8	22	5	3
9-10	40 M	8	10	2	2	68	2	8
	17 F	18	12	24	6	28	0	12
	57 Avg	13	11	13	4	48	1	10
11	13 M*	0	0	0	0	11	2	0
	4 F*	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
12	22 M	9	4	9	13	23	23	19
	3 F*	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
13+	8 M*	1	1	0	0	5	1	0
	4 F*	0	1	1	0	1	0	1

* Contributory Insurance, Social Security, Other Retirement Plans
** Other Sources

The employment picture clears up somewhat when actual job duties are defined (Table XL). Service and forestry occupations clearly predominate, especially among persons of lower educational accomplishment. These data strongly indicate the constricted range of occupations engaged in by Blue Pine household heads, and show, through the heavy no answer proportions at lower grade levels, what negative social meaning little or no work has upon these men and women.

Education (Years)		N.A.	PTM	CS	SO	FFF	P	MT	BW	S	M
0-5	23 M	39	0	0	4	40	4	0	0	4	9
	6 F*	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
5-8	118 M	35	5	1	18	24	1	6	1	3	6
	41 F	63	0	0	14	8	0	8	2	0	5
	159 Avg	49	3	1	16	16	1	7	1	1	5
9-10	40 M	30	0	3	13	31	3	3	3	8	6
	17 F	70	0	0	12	12	0	0	0	6	0
	57 Avg	50	0	1	12	21	2	2	2	7	3
11	13 M*	0	1	0	4	6	0	0	1	1	0
	4 F*	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	22 M	22	9	9	30	13	0	4	0	4	9
	3 F*	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
13+	8 M*	1	3	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
	4 F*	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

PTM = Professional, Technical, Managerial
Cs = Clerical, Sales
SO = Service Occupation
FFF = Farm, Fish, Forestry
P = Processing
MT = Machines Trade
BW = Bench Work
S = Structural
M = Miscellaneous

Transportation of some kind is not a problem for most Blue Pine men heading up households, although more women in this role indicated an absence of what they considered adequate transportation in their families (Table XLI).

TABLE XLI: TRANSPORTATION IN FAMILY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Year)		N.A.	Yes	No
0-5	23 M	9	69	22
	6 F*	1	1	4
5-8	118 M	6	75	19
	41 F	17	24	59
	159 Avg	11	50	39
9-10	40 M	5	65	30
	17 F	6	53	41
	57 Avg	5	59	36
11	13 M*	0	12	1
	4 F*	1	1	2
12	22 M	0	91	9
	3 F*	0	2	1
13+	8 M*	1	7	0
	4 F*	1	2	1

Most autos at Blue Pine are probably fairly adequate for short, infrequent trips in good weather, but many are totally unreliable much of the time even when conditions are favorable. The expenses of operating an auto even for short hauls are often prohibitive to many families, and repairs in a great many cases are put off as long as possible or are out of the question. Most family heads cannot easily commute very many miles to work each day, even when car pools are established.

Many suggestions have been made for means to alleviate the transportation problem, but even the idea of bussing does not catch on, primarily because there is really no regular, year-round work for very many Blue Pine Chippewa to be bussed to. In season, some Blue Pine people travel westward to Red River Valley migrant areas to work, but this usually means stays of a week or more at a time, since the distances are great and expenses for round trips high. On the reservation, delapidated cars often serve as conveyances for men going comparatively short distances for periodic pulping jobs.

F. Blue Pine poverty in a larger contemporary Indian setting

Without enough steady work at decent wages, most Blue Pine Indians and many local whites languish in poverty, although, as we have indicated, poor whites are generally better off in all indices and usually raise part of their food, besides.

According to Commissioner Robert L. Bennett of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the chief problem of Indian Americans today is their continuing poverty. According to Mr. Bennett, Indian communities are "generally no further advanced economically than was rural America as a whole in the 1930's." Indian unemployment, he says, averages close to 40%, and in some places ranges higher, even to as much as 70%. "Put another way," Mr. Bennett is quoted, "Indians have ten times as many chances of not getting a job as do other Americans."

In contemporary times, both Bureau programs and OEO programs have attempted in different ways to provide work for under- or unemployed Indian Americans living in reservation settings. OEO programs have sometimes taken on some of the forms of the work programs of the 1930's, while Bureau programs have been oriented to predominantly blue- and lower white-collar job skill acquisitions that sometimes led to positions within the Bureau structure itself. Neither the Bureau nor the OEO have made a meaningful impact upon employment problems on reservations, because (1) the Bureau programs are not extensive enough to do so; and (2) OEO work programs, such as the Nelson Amendment beautification program, are too short-lived to make a real change in the employment picture. Interestingly, many Blue Pine Indians regard such short-lived immediate work programs offered under the OEO as desirable equivalents of programs which brought relief in the '30's. Yet, such programs have not received a high priority within OEO.

Both OEO and BIA have attempted to bring industry to Blue Pine and other reservations. Currently, OEO is apparently under a strong mandate specifically in the direction of increasing industrial inputs to reservation areas. Whether or not this push will be successful remains to be seen, but it is interesting that in its broad outlines this push strongly resembles recent efforts by the Bureau to bring industry to the reservation areas. It is perhaps too early to say whether the OEO effort will prove more successful than Bureau efforts, but it should be noted that the complex of difficulties related to bringing industry in sufficient force to the reservations is a problem that no agency feels confident it can handle within the forseeable future. Like rural areas and rural populations in many areas throughout the United States, Indian reservations are experiencing some of the negative cross-national effects of an urbanizing society. When one adds to this the generally untrained rese vation work force, and some negative image problems of Indians, the addition of industry to reservations takes on problem proportions greater than those in the usual rural slum area.

There is some evidence that today OEO and the Economic Development Administration are working together under what appears to be a plan to bring industry to at least some selected reservations, if not to reservations across the nation. Again, how well this apparent cooperative effort will succeed cannot be foretold at this time. It is likely that for some reservations, industrialization is a far more reachable and practical prospect than for others. In the first case, industrialization attended by community development may lead to a revitalization of Indian communities. But on the second category of reservations, the decreased likelihood of industrial inputs may lead to necessary planning for programs that emphasize population movement.

Even through such programs as the Nelson Amendment, which may seem to be "make work" to outsiders (and to some Indians), beneficial results have accrued to Indian populations from this kind of employment. These benefits are economic, social, and employment-related in the sense that they provide individuals with work experiences that they may not or could not have otherwise obtained. They may also provide an equivalent of feeder training and, in some cases, more special job-related training. At Blue Pine, it was often easy to notice a change in the general appearance of reservation populations, especially the children, when jobs became available through programs funded by OEO. It is likely that the same changes could be observed when Bureau programs are expanded or newly input to a given Indian community. These changes, even though temporary in most cases, are not to be slighted. It is far better to have, at least temporarily, better food and clothing than never to have an increment in these basic necessities at all.

Indeed, one side effect of temporarily enhanced material livelihood through such programs as those provided by the OEO may be a general raising of expectations. In a collective, general way, these effects could impel Indian people at the grass roots and higher levels to more vigorous action in maintaining anti-poverty programs and securing still further programs of this kind. Some of the current dissatisfaction with the American political and economic climate, as expressed by the more outspoken Indian people referred to earlier, may have come from such side effects of arbitrarily and temporarily funded programs coming under OEO auspices. In some cases, OEO personnel, particularly at the local level, cannot be directly blamed for fluctuating and arbitrary program components, but in other cases, at higher levels, this may not be the case. In any event, the changed levels of expectation attendant to temporarily altered reservation social and economic conditions have created a more aware Indian population at all levels, and one that is demonstrating in subtle and direct ways of many kinds its willingness to engage in various forms of action to achieve lasting and needed economic and social changes.

All over the United States, particularly in rural areas, problems of finding employment for our potential but underdeveloped work force are very great. Basically, two approaches to the problem exist, and these two approaches are embodied in programs of both the Bureau and OEO. As we have earlier referred to these two approaches, we have described the first as providing emphasis for community development, that is, making the community a viable social and economic place in which to live. The second is one that is receiving perhaps the greatest emphasis from top levels in OEO today. It involves moving and training populations for inclusion in the work forces of urban and urbanizing areas. Since reservations are of different kinds in terms of natural resources, work force composition , and general skill level, it can be nominally assumed that either or both of these operating perspectives may come concretely into play on different reservations, and, in some cases, on the same reservation where different communities are characterized by dissimilar environments and population characteristics.

For both the Bureau and OEO, a major impediment to effective development of one or both of these operating perspectives for a given reservation (or, for that matter, the nation) has been a tendency of both agencies to choose one perspective over the other, with the result that in complex situations already complicated by the ambivalent wishes of Indian people themselves, both perspectives have been employed alternately and simultaneously. The result is often a mix of programs that may be unrelated to the objective conditions of the environment and the resident Indian population. They serve, in the main, to confuse program planners and actuators, and, above all, to confuse and demoralize the Indian people themselves. It appears that there is little flexibility in either agency that would allow for consideration of one or both perspectives for a given reservation or its subcommunities according to the objective conditions of the reservation area and population. Instead, one position or the other is usually accepted as a species of ideology rather than as an operating framework for the matching of objective conditions, the needs of Indian people, and a relevant programmatic approach. To some extent, this ambivalence is inevitable, because Blue Pine and other Indian people are themselves often torn between the two cultural directions implied in these perspectives.

Blue Pine people are poor, then, as are nearly all Indians. The data already reviewed and those which follow will attempt to describe the characteristics of that specific Blue Pine case viewed against the issue of general Indian poverty, and against the many bureaucratic assumptions and practices which help to sustain that poverty or only slightly and sporadically modify it.

V. Indian And White Parental Attitude Survey

In 1952, Fessler published the results of a rural community attitude survey* that attempted to measure responses to eight major areas of community behavior:

1. community spirit
2. interpersonal relations
3. family responsibility toward the community
4. churches
5. economic behavior
6. tension areas
7. local government
8. schools

The eight areas were covered in eight sets of five forced-choice questions, to which five possible responses could be made. Fessler employed the mean standard deviation of all scores in all schedules from each community, then ranked the commu;ities according to increasing size of S.D. The smaller S.D. scores were assumed to indicate greater solidarity.

Blue Pine village Indian adults with children in school were asked to complete the forty items on the schedule by Indian interviewers, and white bordertown parents received sealed envelopes from their children in school containing an identical mail-back schedule. S.D. was not employed as a measure of each community's solidarity, since indicidual village respondent numbers were fairly small, and because responses of each of the eight categories of community attitudes were to be compared between Indian parents and white parents. Five categories were collapsed to four in this analysis.

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* Fessler, Donald R. The development of a scale for measuring community solidarity. Rural Sociology, 1952, 17:144-52.

A. Community spirit

Tables XLII through XLVI depict the responses of 113 village Indian parents and 453 bordertown white parents to five questions which Fessler referred to under the heading of community spirit.

TABLE XLII: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: COMMUNITY SPIRIT (PERCENTAGES)

"A lot of people here think they are too good for you."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(53) 43%	(140) 31%
Undecided	(13) 19	(50) 11
Untrue	(47) 38	(263) 58
	100%	100%

TABLE XLIII: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: COMMUNITY SPIRIT (PERCENTAGES)

"People won't work together to get things done for the community."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(66) 58%	(154) 34%
Undecided	(13) 12	(95) 21
Untrue	(34) 30	(204) 45
	100%	100%

TABLE XLIV: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: COMMUNITY SPIRIT (PERCENTAGES)

"The young people as a whole mind their business."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(50) 44%	(290) 64%
Undecided	(17) 15	(68) 15
Untrue	(46) 41	(95) 21
	100%	100%

TABLE XLV: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: COMMUNITY SPIRIT (PERCENTAGES)

"No one seems to care much how the community looks."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(44) 39%	(45) 10%
Undecided	(20) 17	(64) 14
Untrue	(49) 44	(344) 76
	100%	100%

TABLE XLVI: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES COMMUNITY SPIRIT (PERCENTAGES)

"The community tries hard to help its young people along."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(53) 47%	(190) 42%
Undecided	(24) 21	(104) 23
Untrue	(36) 32	(159) 35
	100%	100%

A comparison of Indian and white parental responses indicates a greater sense of disapproval over certain community functions on the part of Indians. But in both populations, substantial proportions of the respondents showed negative responses to these five areas of community life. Residents of both types of community were equally ambivalent about community treatment of youth.

B. Interpersonal relations

Similarly, Tables XLVII through LIshow substantial differences between Indian and white parents for the five questions dealing with interpersonal relations.

TABLE XLVII INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS (PERCENTAGES)

"Real friends are hard to find in this community."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(50) 44%	(113) 25%
Undecided	(16) 14	(41) 9
Untrue	(47) 42	(299) 66
	100%	100%

TABLE XLVIII INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS (PERCENTAGES)

"Almost everyone is polite and courteous with you."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(71) 63%	(372) 82%
Undecided	(16) 14	(36) 8
Untrue	(26) 23	(45) 10
	100%	100%

TABLE XLIX INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS (PERCENTAGES)

"People give you a bad name if you insist on being different."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(71) 63%	(154) 34%
Undecided	(16) 14	(100) 22
Untrue	(26) 23	(199) 44
	100%	100%

TABLE L INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS (PERCENTAGES)

"People are generally critical of others."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(71) 63%	(222) 49%
Undecided	(22) 19	(82) 18
Untrue	(20) 18	(149) 33
	100%	100%

TABLE LI INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS (PERCENTAGES)

"I feel very much that I belong here."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(77) 68%	(317) 70%
Undecided	(23) 20	(95) 21
Untrue	(13) 12	(41) 9
	100%	100%

In this category of community attitudes, Indian parents' responses indicate that village communities may be places where differences are more openly expressed or visible than in the white bordertowns, even though the villagers seem to be just as much at home in this setting as the whites in theirs. From these data, it is apparent that stepping out of line in the village community can lead to comparatively more harsh responses from others.

C. Family responsibility toward the community

Similarly, Indian parents show a greater tendency to express problems concerning their children (Tables LII through LVI). Under the category of questions conceived with family responsibility toward the community, Indian parents consistently reveal more concern over the behavior of their children than do bordertown white parents, although both populations indicate in up to about half the cases that controls over youth behavior are adequate.

LII: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:
FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD COMMUNITY
(PERCENTAGES)

"If their children keep out of the way, parents are satisfied to let them do whatever they want to."

	(113) Indian		(453) White	
True	(44)	39%	(109)	24%
Undecided	(20)	18	(72)	16
Untrue	(49)	43	(272)	60
		100%		100%

LIII:INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD COMMUNITY (PERCENTAGES)

"Folks are unconcerned about what their kids do so long as they keep out of trouble."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(58) 53%	(181) 40%
Undecided	(20) 17	(77) 17
Untrue	(35) 31	(195) 43
	100%	100%

LIV: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD COMMUNITY (PERCENTAGES)

"Parents teach their children to respect other peoples' rights and property."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(44) 39%	(294) 65%
Undecided	(23) 20	(73) 16
Untrue	(46) 41	(86) 19
	100%	100%

LV: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD COMMUNITY (PERCENTAGES)

"Families in this community keep their children under control."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(33) 29%	(249) 55%
Undecided	(27) 24	(86) 19
Untrue	(53) 47	(118) 26
	100%	100%

LVI:INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD COMMUNITY (PERCENTAGES)

"Most people get their families to church or Sunday School on Sunday."

	(113) Indian		(453) White	
True	(43)	38%	(331)	73%
Undecided	(21)	19	(77)	17
Untrue	(49)	43	(45)	10
		100%		100%

The place of religion in the lives of young Indian people is indicated by the last table, and points up the irrelevance of mission activities to most parents.

D. Churches

Indians at Blue Pine can even be said to be somewhat cynical about their churches, and about the meaning or relevance of the religious experience in everyday life.

LVII: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: CHURCHES (PERCENTAGES)

"The different churches here cooperate well together."

	(113) Indian		(453) White	
True	(53)	47%	(340)	75%
Undecided	(23)	20	(72)	16
Untrue	(37)	33	(41)	9
		100%		100%

LVIII: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES CHURCHES (PERCENTAGES)

"Most of our church people forget the meaning of the word brotherhood when they get out of church."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(74) 65%	(168) 37%
Undecided	(12) 11	(77) 17
Untrue	(27) 24	(208) 46
	100%	100%

LVIX: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: CHURCHES (PERCENTAGES)

"Most of our churchgoers do not practice what they preach."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(67) 59%	(172) 38%
Undecided	(23) 20	(95) 21
Untrue	(24) 21	(186) 41
	100%	100%

LX: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES CHURCHES (PERCENTAGES)

"Every church wants to be the biggest and most impressive."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(35) 31%	(82) 18%
Undecided	(24) 21	(72) 16
Untrue	(54) 48	(299) 66
	100%	100%

LXI: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: CHURCHES (PERCENTAGES)

"The churches are good for better community life."

	(113) Indian		(453) White	
True	(97)	86%	(408)	89%
Undecided	(9)	8	(41)	9
Untrue	(7)	6	(9)	2
		100%		100%

As Tables LVII through LXI above indicate, Indian parents tend to be more critical of their churches than white parents, and to see clear relevance for community life in them. Yet, in spite of opinions that the churches are somewhat obviously competitive and secularly detached for their parishoners, Indians exhibited the same normative response as whites when asked whether the churches were good for the community. This may be regarded as a largely ideological viewpoint in view of the previous criticisms.

E. Economic behavior

Since the Blue Pine area is poor, whites as well as Indians often have trouble finding employment that is lasting and economically adequate. Most of the parents interviewed in the Indian villages felt that local business concerns were not unfair, and in this respect, they felt much like their white bordertown counterparts. Both populations also basically agreed that most people in their communities were not miserly.

LXII:INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR (PERCENTAGES)

"Local businesses deal fairly with everyone."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(66) 58%	(254) 56%
Undecided	(18) 16	(104) 23
Untrue	(29) 26	(95) 21
	100%	100%

LXIII: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR (PERCENTAGES)

"The people here are all penny pinchers."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(25) 22%	(54) 12%
Undecided	(19) 17	(73) 16
Untrue	(69) 61	(326) 72
	100%	100%

Yet, Indian parents also indicated (Tables LXIV through LXVI) some feelings of relevatively poorer treatment in the wage area, and indicated a stronger feeling of subordination than whites.

LXIV: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR (PERCENTAGES)

"A few people here make all the money."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(53) 47%	(136) 30%
Undecided	(19) 17	(86) 19
Untrue	(41) 36	(231) 51
	100%	100%

LXV: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR (PERCENTAGES)

"Everyone here tries to take advantage of you."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(25) 22%	(45) 10%
Undecided	(20) 18	(41) 9
Untrue	(68) 60	(367) 81
	100%	100%

TABLE LXVI: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR (PERCENTAGES)

"Local employers expect their help to live on low wages."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(67) 59%	(172) 38%
Undecided	(25) 22	(203) 45
Untrue	(21) 19	(78) 17
	100%	100%

But both populations seemed concerned about employer wage expectations, although the concern was expressed differently. While about 60% of the Indian parents indicated that employers expected low wages to suffice and only about 40% of the whites agreed, nearly half of the white parents were undecided about this question. Negative responses to the question about employer low wage expectations were low and almost identical.

F. Tension areas

The relative absence of money in the region, which makes pennypinching in the usual sense meaningless, is indicated again by Table LXVII . As one of five questions dealing with tension areas in the community, spending behavior appears to be less a problem than, as we have seen, low wages could be.

LXVII: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: TENSION AREAS (PERCENTAGES)

"You must spend lots of money to be accepted here."

	(113) Indian		(453) White	
True	(17)	15%	(45)	10%
Undecided	(16)	14	(64)	14
Untrue	(80)	71	(344)	76
		100%		100%

Further questions dealing with tension areas point up again 1) the relative sensitivity of Blue Pine Indian villagers to community stresses, and 2) the greater frequency of socially visible strains.

LXVIII: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: TENSION AREAS (PERCENTAGES)

"People around here show good judgement."

	(113) Indian		(453) White	
True	(45)	40%	(267)	59%
Undecided	(33)	29	(127)	28
Untrue	(35)	31	(59)	13
		100%		100%

LXIX: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: TENSION AREAS (PERCENTAGES)

"The community is very peaceful and orderly."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(34) 30%	(290) 64%
Undecided	(23) 20	(72) 16
Untrue	(56) 50	(91) 20
	100%	100%

LXX: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: TENSION AREAS (PERCENTAGES)

"Too many young people here get into difficulties with sex and drinking."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(76) 68%	(222) 49%
Undecided	(17) 14	(95) 21
Untrue	(20) 18	(136) 30
	100%	100%

LXXI: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: TENSION AREAS (PERCENTAGES)

"You are out of luck here if you happen to be of the wrong race or nationality."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(36) 32%	(54) 12%
Undecided	(20) 18	(91) 20
Untrue	(57) 50	(308) 68
	100%	100%

The greater concern of Indian parents for youth behavior appears again, and a moderate but important note of racist feelings emerges. In the Blue Pine region, both race (Indians) and ethnicity (Finns, "Bohemians," Polish) are essential elements in personal judgements and especially, in expressions of hostility to stereotyped collectivities. The fact that some town Indians may have responded to the questionnaire, and the fact that substantial numbers of low-status European descendants live in these towns, could together account for the presence of substantial proportions in each population pointing up local problems with race and nationality. Of course, village Indians far more often refer to this problem.

G. Local government

In the area of local government (Tables LXXII through LXXVI), the comparative ambivalence of whites as compared with Indians is very noticeable. Again, village Indians are, on the whole, far more certain of problems in local government than are whites living in bordertowns.

LXXII: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: LOCAL GOVERNMENT (PERCENTAGES)

"Some people here 'get by with murder' while others get in trouble for anything they do."

	(113) Indian		(453) White	
True	(64)	57%	(208)	46%
Undecided	(19)	17	(64)	14
Untrue	(29)	26	(181)	40
		100%		100%

LXXIII:INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: LOCAL GOVERNMENT (PERCENTAGES)

"This community lacks real leaders."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(70)	62%	(172)	38%
Undecided	(17)	15	(91)	20
Untrue	(26)	23	(190)	42
		100%		100%

LXXIV:INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: LOCAL GOVERNMENT (PERCENTAGES)

"Town council runs the town to suit itself."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(41)	36%	(159)	35%
Undecided	(43)	38	(131)	29
Untrue	(29)	26	(163)	36
		100%		100%

LXXV: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: LOCAL GOVERNMENT (PERCENTAGES)

"A few people have the local politics well sewed up."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(42)	37%	(140)	31%
Undecided	(37)	33	(127)	28
Untrue	(34)	30	(186)	41
		100%		100%

3

LXXVI: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: LOCAL GOVERNMENT (PERCENTAGES)

"The Town Council gets very little done."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(46)	41%	(181)	28%
Undecided	(38)	34	(145)	32
Untrue	(29)	25	(127)	40
		100%		100%

Some of these differences are due to the relative impotence of Indian village councils compared with white town councils, but hostility toward the Reservation Business Committee is indirectly apparent from the village parents' responses. Indications of a felt leadership gap are strong in both types of community, but especially strong in the villages.

H. Schools

The fact that Indian parents are aware of a basic educational phenomenon, school non-completion, is easily demonstrated.

LXXVII: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: SCHOOLS (PERCENTAGES)

"Many young people in the community do not finish high school."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(99)	88%	(154)	34%
Undecided	(6)	5	(77)	17
Untrue	(8)	7	(222)	49
		100%		100%

Indian parents are also three times more likely to fault local schools for failing to adequately prepare their young people for non-school world, including college, than are local white parents.

LXXVIII: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: SCHOOLS (PERCENTAGES)

"Our schools do a poor job of preparing young people for life."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(29) 26%	(41) 9%
Undecided	(19) 17	(68) 15
Untrue	(65) 57	(344) 76
	100%	100%

LXXIX: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: SCHOOLS (PERCENTAGES)

"Our schools do a good job of preparing students for college."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(69) 61%	(340) 75%
Undecided	(27) 24	(81) 18
Untrue	(17) 15	(32) 7
	100%	100%

Yet, both populations indicate about as often the problem of community irrelevance to high school graduates, who will very likely leave the community in search of visable employment in other locales, and both populations essentially endorse the technical quality of the schools in the limited way suggested by a question dealing with reading and writing.

LXXX: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: SCHOOLS (PERCENTAGES)

"Our high school graduates take an active interest in making their community a better place in which to live."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(45)	40%	(168)	37%
Undecided	(26)	23	(140)	31
Untrue	(42)	37	(145)	32
		100%		100%

LXXXI: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: SCHOOLS (PERCENTAGES)

"Most of the students here learn to read and write well."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(90)	80%	(349)	77%
Undecided	(11)	10	(59)	13
Untrue	(12)	10	(45)	10
		100%		100%

I. The larger context of Blue Pine community attitudes

Indians, unlike certain other minority populations of European origin, have not historically ascribed to certain basic values typical of most of these immigrants. This means that a different acculturative process takes place for the many types of Indian people. Similarly, Spanish-speaking people in the Southwest United States also exhibit certain basic value differences when compared with immigrant populations from other parts of Europe, after having experienced a different developmental history in regions southward from the United States. A major element of difference between the immigrant populations of European origins and Indian American peoples lies in the relative absence of what might be called the work ethic, or the "middle-class value structure."

Comparatively, European populations which have come to the United States and settled here have been basically devoted to the postulates of hard work, thrift, and basic security through the denial of immediate pleasures for the long-term gain. Indian people, having had a different cultural background in a different ecological setting, and having experienced decades of reservation life under conditions unlike those of any other minority population in the United States, usually do not strongly exhibit these values. Poor people, often despite ethnic or racial background, also show differences in basic value structure when compared with people who are economically and socially better off in America. Therefore, it is sometimes difficult to pinpoint whether it is an Indian trait that is "responsible" for a given value configuration, or whether it is simply the fact that poor people are involved. Not enough is currently known about contemporary cultures of Indian people in America as over against the contemporary cultures of other poverty-ridden minority groups in order that these judgements might be accurately made.

Probably more than any minority population in America, Indian people have been told that they will be saved through meliorative programs. Yet, a great, weary cynicism has been generated among these people by their own observation of the fact that these programs rarely make a significant dent in local conditions. Still, many of these same people, who observe repeated program falterings and failures, do involve themselves. This probably demonstrates a strong compensatory optimism (although it may be not easily viewed by outsiders) and a willingness to participate in self-help programs even where the likelihood of a lasting positive outcome is very small. In the context of a given program, however, this willingness to pitch in and participate may not last very long if it definitely appears to Indians that the program is not going anywhere. At that point, it is common to observe a great decrease in Indian participation. It would seem unlikely that this would be different for any minority population if that population had gone through an acculturative experience similar to that of the Indian American.

The expressions of judgement about eight areas of community life on the part of Blue Pine Indian residents seems to indicate a strong sense of powerlessness over some basic community functions. This seems particularly true with regard to local government and to young people. All in all, these data seem to validate in most cases the cultural statements made about Blue Pine residents in earlier parts of this report. However, it should be noted that in many respects

Blue Pine residents are very much like people in the towns bordering the reservation. It is very difficult, in light of often similar responses, to know with certainty whether what is being observed through Fessler's scale are the responses of two populations, on Indian and one white, or, more correctly, the responses of a regional subculture. For many reasons, such determinations may make little difference.

But at least as certainly, differences in the responses cannot be ignored, and there is no intention of doing this or of underplaying those differences. We have shown that even when compared with local poor whites, Blue Pine residents live in abject poverty conditions, and we have alluded to the proposition that populations at different economic levels tend to exhibit certain similar characteristics. Blue Pine residents seem well accultured, regardless of questions of cultural background and comparatively greater poverty, to local versions of dominant society educational values; Table LXXXII indicates how the same two populations of village Indian parents and town white parents responded to an open-ended questionnaire devised by the Waxes, and employed at Pine Ridge.

TABLE LXXXII: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)

"Do you think people who go to school get better jobs than people who don't go to school?"

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
Yes	(109)	96%	(412)	91%
Sometimes	(2)	2	(23)	5
No Answer	(2)	2	(18)	4
		100%		100%

The job-related meanings of formal education seem very apparent to both parental categories, with Indian parents essentially more aware or committed than white parents. What kind of desireable job formal education might result in for one's children (Table LXXXIII) is seen somewhat differently by Indians and whites.

TABLE LXXXIII: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)

"What kind of a job do you want your kids to have when they grow up and finish school?"

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
A.	(51)	45%	(232)	51%
B.	(17)	15	(95)	21
C.	(13)	12	(49)	11
D.	(9)	8	(54)	12
E.	(8)	7	(18)	4
F.	(8)	7	(5)	1
G.	(7)	6	(0)	0
		100%		100%

A. Leaving it up to student
B. Best possible, or respectable and good paying
C. No answer
D. Professional
E. Skilled worker (foreman; machine operator; truck driver, etc.)
F. Don't know
G. Semi-skilled worker (blue collar; clerk, etc.)

White parents would tend to shy away from blue collar occupations for their children more than Indian parents, but nearly the same proportions would leave the choice of occupation up to the child (45% Indian, 51% white), or hope for the best possible job (15% Indian, 21% white).

Insight into the ways through which formal education helps insure a better job was remarkably scant; and similar; for both parental categories (Table LXXXIV).

TABLE LXXXIV: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)

"In what way is going to school going to help them get such a job?"

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
A.	(34)	30%	(141)	31%
B.	(27)	24	(14)	3
C.	(27)	24	(112)	25
D.	(10)	9	(109)	24
E.	(7)	6	(32)	7
F.	(5)	4	(4)	1
G.	(3)	3	(41)	9
		100%		100%

A. Because it is specifically necessary to have high work and diploma to continue training or get good job
B. By "getting through school," doing lessons," etc. (Vague)
C. No answer
D. By getting "smart", "better prepared," etc. (Vague)
E. By learning specific skills
F. By "going to school regular," etc. (Vague)
G. Because horizons of kids are widened and new fields are opened to them

About a third in each population "knew" that a diploma is very necessary for employment, whatever the reasons. Around a fourth of each population responded vaguely about the usefulness of classroom processing toward attaining greater general knowledge ("getting smart") or, simply, "getting through school." Similarly, about a fourth of each population admitted nothing. Only 9% of the white parents and 3% of the Indian parents offered responses stressing the discovery or intellectual aspects of education.

The essential similarity of at least some school-related experiences of Blue Pine village Indian and bordertown white parents is strongly indicated in Tables LXXXV - LXXXVIII. Since the schools are operated entirely by white personnel, these data are particularly interesting. In consideration of any substantial cultural differences and their meanings, they may be even more important.

TABLE LXXXV: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)

"Have your children ever learned anything at school that makes you and your family feel pleased?

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
Yes (All)	(97)	86%	(409)	90%
No answer	(9)	8	(26)	6
No	(7)	6	(14)	3
Sometimes	(0)	0	(4)	1
		100%		100%

TABLES LXXXVI: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)

"Do children ever learn things at school that make them be disrespectful or mean to their parents - or makes their parents feel sad?"

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
No	(71)	63%	(291)	64%
Yes (All)	(19)	17	(109)	24
Sometimes	(9)	8	(18)	4
Undecided or Don't Know	(8)	7	(9)	2
No Answer	(6)	5	(26)	6
		100%		100%

TABLE LXXXVII: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)

"Sometimes children get ashamed in school and don't like to go. Have you heard of anything like that?

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
No	(55)	49%	(222)	49%
Yes	(53)	47	(200)	44
No Answer	(3)	3	(27)	6
Sometimes	(1)	1	(4)	1
		100%		100%

TABLE LXXXVIII: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)

"Has your child ever said he didn't want to go to school?"

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
No	(56)	50%	(232)	51%
Yes	(43)	38	(177)	39
Sometimes	(77)	6	(27)	6
No Answer	(7)	6	(17)	4
		100%		100%

The four tables above suggest that some of the meanings of public school operations for Blue Pine Indian and white parents are almost identical. Yet, as we know, proportionately many more Blue Pine children do not successfully complete these schools compared to local white children. This matter will be discussed in a later section that treats the basic assumptions and hypotheses of the project. Further, similarities do not end with the responses tabularized above. Tables LXXXIX and XC show very close categories of response to two questions dealing with, in the first case, the quality of some technical aspects of the schools, and, in the second, an ideological aspect of the schools.

TABLE LXXXIX: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:
EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)

"When it comes to teaching your children English and Arithmetic, do you think the teachers do a good job or a bad job?"

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
Yes (All)	(73)	65%	(281)	62%
Sometimes	(19)	17	(59)	13
Undecided or Don't Know	(10)	9	(73)	16
No	(6)	5	(9)	2
No Answer	(5)	4	(31)	7
		100%		100%

TABLE XC: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:
EDUCATION (PERCENTAGE)

"Does the school do a good job or a bad job in teaching children competition?"

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
Good Job	(62)	55%	(268)	59%
No answer	(16)	14	(72)	16
Fair Job	(15)	13	(63)	14
Don't Know or can't decide	(15)	13	(32)	7
Bad Job	(5)	5	(18)	4
		100%		100%

The question that revealed the most obvious differences between the two populations is shown below. In this type of response, perhaps, is one small clue to the phenomenon of higher drop-outs among Indian children than local white children: relative parental ignorance of school subject, and of the operational expertise related to "managing" this knowledge properly in a bicultural setting.

TABLE XCI: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)

"Have you ever helped your child with lessons?

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
Yes	(77)	68%	(390)	86%
No (All)	(23)	20	(23)	5
Sometimes	(11)	10	(27)	6
No answer	(2)	2	(13)	3
		100%		100%

A final section of this project report will, as has been noted, deal with this problem at length. Chiefly, practical means will be suggested to more closely involve Indian parents with the day-to-day operations of the schools.

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PUBLIC EDUCATION ON A MINNESOTA CHIPPEWA RESERVATION

VOLUME 2

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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Public Education On A Minnesota Chippewa Reservation

Final Report
On
Cooperative Research #7-8138

To
United States Office
Of
Education

Sponsored
By
The University of Kansas

Conducted
By
Arthur M. Harkins

Under The Supervision
Of
Professor Rosalie H. Wax

May 31, 1968

MANY OF THE MATERIALS PRESENTED IN THIS REPORT WERE GATHERED WITH THE FULL AND INVALUABLE COOPERATION OF THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM, WHICH OPERATES UNDER THE MANAGEMENT OF THE RESERVATION BUSINESS COMMITTEE AT THE RESEARCH SITE.

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To the persons above, but especially to the Indian school children and parents with whom we met and talked, the deepest gratitude is expressed, together with the hope that this report will lend itself usefully to practical, school-related matters of concern to them.

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VI. Teacher Attitude Survey

Employing a second open-ended questionnaire from the Wax study at Pine Ridge, 330 teachers in Blue Pine village and bordertown public schools were surveyed for responses relating to their schools and to Indian children in them. In some cases, teachers in bordertown elementary schools had had no previous classroom contact with Indian children. These instances were very few.

Table XCII comparatively indicates how three categories of Blue Pine public school teachers ranked important elements of the school environment. Professional attributes were mentioned by only one in ten village elementary teachers, who claimed that student attributes and the job itself were important. Border elementary and secondary teachers indicated professional reasons three times as often and tended to rate down the importance of student attributes. For all three teacher categories, community and school social characteristics were important.

TABLE XCII: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"What are the nicest things about teaching here?"

	(34) Combined Village Elementary	(119) Combined Border Elementary	(177) Combined Secondary
A	29%	6%	15%
B	20	23	29
C	15	19	9
D	12	15	16
E	12	4	0
F	9	32	28
G	3	1	3
	100%	100%	100%

A. Attributes of the students (ability; willingness to work; etc.)

B. Social attributes of the school (friendship of teachers and administrators; easy-going emotional climate, etc.)

C. Physical attributes of the school (rooms; food; lighting; space; supplies; etc.)

D. Attributes of the community or region (geography; friendly and cooperative people; etc.)

E. The job itself, intrinsically

F. Professional, intellectual - professional aspects of the school (professional cooperation; professional excellence; academic freedom; respect for classroom integrity; class size, load; school size; wages; aides etc.)

G. No answer

Table XCIII, however, indicates that fully 64% of the village elementary teachers dislike characteristics of the Blue Pine Indian communities and children, while only 9% of the bordertown elementary and 31% of the bordertown secondary are aversive to these same things. As before, little of professional interest, even in the negative, is shown by village elementary teachers compared with the bordertown teachers, who also disliked in about a fourth of the cases physical attributes of their schools.

TABLE XCIII: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"What are the worst things about teaching here?"

	(25) Combined Village Elementary	(77) Combined Border Elementary	(126) Combined Secondary
A	36%	4%	17%
B	28	5	14
C	24	27	19
D	8	37	27
E	4	0	2
F	0	27	21
	100%	100%	100%

A. Attributes of the students (lack of ability; unwillingness to work; etc.)

B. Attributes of the community or region (geography; unfriendly and uncooperative people; etc.)

C. None

D. Professional - Professional aspects of the school (lack of professional cooperation; professional shabbiness; lack of academic freedom; low respect for classroom integrity; class size, load; wages; aides; school size; length of school hours)

E. Social attributes of the school (lack of friendship of teachers and administrators; stressful emotional climate, etc.)

F. Physical attributes of the school (rooms; food; lighting; space; supplies; etc.)

In Table XCIV, bordertown secondary teachers cite attendance problems and academic apathy as major special difficulties in teaching Indian children, while village elementary teachers indicate that social and behavioral problems, academic apathy, and poor home environments are important areas of difficulty. None of the respondents indicated that the schools themselves might have difficulties related to special problems in teaching Indian children.

TABLE XCIV: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"What are the special difficulties about teaching Indian children here?"

	(24) Combined Village Elementary	(85) Combined Border Elementary	(132) Combined Secondary
A	25%	18%	14%
B	25	12	42
C	21	21	5
D	13	7	4
E	8	18	9
F	4	18	23
G	4	6	3
	100%	100%	100%

A. Social and behavioral problems (shyness; lack of confidence; huddling together; speechlessness; etc.)

B. Lack of desire to learn; academic apathy, etc.

C. Poor, immoral, or academically uncontributive home environment (apathetic parents; shacky home; etc.)

D. No answer or haven't had an Indian child

E. None

F. Attendance problems

G. Poor academic background (reading, writing problems, etc.)

The effects of cultural and academic differences are revealed clearly in the responses of bordertown secondary teachers when they were asked to compare the performances of Indian and white children:

TABLE XCV: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"Academically, how do Indian and White children compare here?"

	(19) Combined Village Elementary	(70) Combined Border Elementary	(106) Combined Secondary
A.	37%	39%	14%
B.	37	33	72
C.	21	11	7
D.	5	4	1
E.	0	9	3
F.	0	4	3
	100%	100%	100%

A. About the same; no differences (some qualifications such as given chances, right guidance, etc.)

B. Indians lower than whites (usually home condition or etc.)

C. No answer (don't have any Indians - no Whites)

D. Primary grades same, older grades Indians fall behind

E. Don't know; don't feel qualified to say; don't wish to say

F. We should not compare them (or can't)

While over a third of the village and bordertown elementary teachers felt that Indian academic performance was lower than white, nearly three in four secondary teachers felt that this was the case.

Table XCVI, similarly, points up an equally strong response from secondary teachers that categorizes Indian children as socially different in negative ways related to school. Village elementary teachers indicated the same response in about half the cases, but appeared to hedge in some cases. Bordertown elementary teachers showed a strong egalitarian ideological tendency that was probably, in some cases, the result of higher frequencies of contact with presumably different Indian children from town, and, in others, the result of little Indian contact at all.

TABLE XCVI: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"How do they compare socially?'

	(19) Combined Village Elementary	(71) Combined Border Elementary	(104) Combined Secondary
A	53%	46%	73%
B	21	41	14
C	16	10	8
D	10	1	1
E	0	1	1
F	0	1	3
	100%	100%	100%

A. Indians are less adept than Whites; shy; group together; don't mix well

B. The same; no differences

C. No answer (don't have any Indians - no Whites)

D. Primary grades same; at older grades, Indians fall behind

E. Don't know; don't feel qualified to say; don't wish to say

F. We should not compare them.

When asked whether there were respects in which working with Indian children seemed comparatively easier, responses were less far apart than on any previous question, but indicated once again the comparatively adamant negative stance of bordertown secondary teachers, an ease-of-job orientation of village elementary teachers, and the comparatively modern, equalitarian posture of bordertown elementary teachers.

TABLE XCVII: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"Are there any respects in which it is easier to work with these children than with others?"

	(18) Combined Village Elementary	(72) Combined Border Elementary	(104) Combined Secondary
A	39%	44%	50%
B	33	20	23
C	18	15	10
D	5	10	7
E	5	7	5
F	0	1	0
G	0	3	0
H	0	0	5
	100%	100%	100%

A. None
B. Yes, because more submissive; obey rules without much question; etc. - more pleasant and appreciative, patient, gentle - no discipline problems
C. No answer
D. Yes, when special treatment is given (kindness and attention), fully accepted and at ease.
E. Yes, in certain subjects. Spelling and writing are good.
F. Yes (no further explanation)
G. Varies from student to student
H. (All negative statements that do not answer question as put, but simply say something negative about Indian student. Eg., "They are a discipline problem", "never have to worry about parents", "difficult to teach".)

About half of all three categories of teachers, (Table XCVIII) stated that the problems of greatest importance to them in educating Indian children relate to academic apathy and an uncontributive home environment. Only a few teachers, none of these from the village schools, cited lack of knowledge of Blue Pine Indian ways of life as a contributive factor. Surprisingly, perhaps, a fourth of the village elementary teachers pointed to inadequate adjustments by the schools as problematic, while few bordertown elementary and secondary teachers mentioned this as a difficulty. As always, while bordertown teachers indicated the negative impacts of absenteeism, village elementary teachers scarcely mentioned it.

TABLE XCVIII: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"What are the things that make it hardest for you to do a good job teaching these children?"

	(21) Combined Village Elementary	(77) Combined Border Elementary	(125) Combined Secondary
A	24%	18%	42%
B	24	25	10
C	24	2	8
D	14	12	4
E	10	12	11
F	4	14	19
G	0	8	0
H	0	4	2
I	0	5	4
	100%	100%	100%

A. Lack of desire to learn; academic apathy, etc.
B. Poor, immoral, or academically uncontributive home environment (apathetic parents; shaky home; etc.)
C. Lack of special academic methods for these children (smaller classes; different curricula; etc.); lack of adjustments by the school
D. No answer
E. Social and behavioral problems (shyness; lack of confidence; huddling together; speechlessness, sleepiness, etc.)
F. Attendance problems
G. Nothing or nothing much
H. Poor academic background (reading, writing problem, etc.)
I. Lack of knowledge and understanding of Indian way of life; inability to communicate with them

Table XCIX depicts three-fourths of all village elementary teachers naming the absence of jobs and income, and general cultural disorganization problems as the greatest difficulties of Blue Pine Indian people. Border elementary (65%) and border secondary teachers (46%) tended to agree, but bordertown secondary teachers pointed to the effects of welfare (15%) and lack of ambition or apathy (24%) as major difficulties.

TABLE XCIX: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"As you see it, what are the biggest problems of the people on the Reservation?"

	(31) Combined Village Elementary	(89) Combined Border Elementary	(124) Combined Secondary
A	23%	10%	2%
B	23	10	5
C	16	19	18
D	13	18	15
E	10	8	6
F	6	7	15
G	3	18	10
H	3	1	2
I	3	3	2
J	0	3	0
K	0	2	1
L	0	1	24
	100%	100%	100%

A. Alcoholism
B. Lack of good jobs and steady incomes
C. Insularity (lack of iniative, or inability, to associate with others); feelings of rejection by others; etc. no self-confidence, lack of independence
D. Poor social environment (lack of cooperation; sex; violence; loose law enforcment; irresponsibility; etc.).
E. Poor physical environment (bad roads; shacks; no water; no electricity; no phones; etc.)
F. Effects of welfare
G. No answer
H. Poor leadership
I. Lack of training and education
J. No special problems
K. Health problems
L. Lack of ambition (apathy)

Related to these feelings about Indian cultural problems was a question that asked for the teachers' opinions on the most-needed ingredients for adequate Indian education (Table C):

TABLE C: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"What do you feel these children need most in the way of education?"

	(20) Combined Village Elementary	(72) Combined Border Elementary	(116) Combined Secondary
A	35%	26%	15%
B	20	8	15
C	15	11	12
D	15	29	36
E	15	10	12
F	0	10	8
G	0	6	2
	100%	100%	100%

A. A different social (and cultural) environment or background (more "enlarged," less "deprived;" more "normal;" more "moral;" more "concerned" parents; an environment general more like white people's.)
B. To accept education for a future livelihood (job, trade, profession; more school; get off welfare; etc.)
C. To accept education as given
D. More individual help, understanding, love, care, and sincere human attention; more security and acceptance to develop self confidence, feeling of importance, etc. belonging - desire on their part
E. A different teaching approach by educators (special curricula changes; specialists; teacher training for Indian education, etc.) based on a knowledge and understanding of Indian life. Adjustments by the school. Kindergarten.
F. No answer
G. To want to "raise themselves" socially

Here, village elementary teachers suggested that familial disorganization be arrested (35%), while border elementary and secondary teachers agreed less often (26% and 15%, repectively). About one in ten from each population suggested changes in the schools. But bordertown secondary teachers (36%), border elementary teachers (29%), and village elementary teachers (15%) suggested, in decreasing order, more attention to the children themselves -- to their needs as people and individuals, their feelings of importance, and so forth.

Village elementary teachers would upgrade certain aspects of the schooling functions in order to offset negative community related effects (Table CI);

TABLE CI: TEACHERS ATTITUDES' TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"What changes would you make or what programs would you initiate to improve the situation here?"

	(21) Combined Village Elementary	(76) Combined Border Elementary	(108) Combined Secondary
A	43%	3%	6%
B	19	1	6
C	9	33	21
D	9	12	12
E	9	21	11
F	9	13	15
G	0	3	0
H	0	1	10
I	0	12	18
J	0	1	1
	100%	100%	100%

A. Professional: teacher aides; class size reductions; one teacher per grade; upgrading of teacher quality; attitude changes of teachers and administrators
B. Integration of White and Indian students
C. No answer
D. None; everything is fine; "can't think of any," etc.
E. Academic: Kindergarten and preschool programs; remedial math and reading; adult education
F. Bring up interest and involvement of all segments of the community; involve parents, school boards, etc; improve community values, attitudes toward school
G. Better plants (rooms, equipment, etc.)
H. More practical courses (shop, auto mechanics, physical education, home economics, etc.)
I. A general attempt to involve, interest, and stimulate these children
J. More knowledge about the Indian ways of life

As Table CI indicates, the village elementary teachers are not alone in making change suggestions at the curriculum level, and, along with the two categories of bordertown teachers, some of them would favor attempts to involve the community itself in school-related activities. But none of the three teacher groups demonstrated significant interest in learning more about Blue Pine Indian people. Still, many bordertown teachers suggest more attempts to "involve", "interest", or "stimulate" these Indian children, apparently under the assumption that such knowledge is not really necessary.

These Blue Pine teachers reveal by their overall responses to the open-ended items in the Wax questionnaire an uneven, general sensitivity to Indian differences, but usually only the "negative" ones. When some of these differences are seen as related to children who are easier to handle in the classroom, they are viewed less disapprovingly. Yet, thereby hangs a grave problem, as a later section of this report will seek to demonstrate.

Apparently, the teachers do not appear to hate the children, or to fear them for their differences. They do seem to occasionally respond with practical suggestions to improve the quality of the schools, and their negative references to family life styles are no more virulent than many materials generated by intellectuals engaged in the broad field of anti-poverty theory and action.

These teachers are Minnesotans, apparently, above anything else. Nearly all were certified or graduated from nearly North Dakota or Minnesota teachers colleges, most of which would exist on the very trailing segments of Riessman's hypothetical academic serpent. Most have taught somewhere else in Minnesota if they are elementary teachers, but 42% of the bordertown secondary teachers had taught only in their present school at the time the data were gathered (Table CII). The village elementary teachers are older (Table CIII), and less likely to have a four-year degree than bordertown elementary teachers. All or nearly all bordertown secondary teachers possess four-year degrees.

TABLE CII: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"In what schools and grades have you taught?"

	(20) Combined Village Elementary	(68) Combined Border Elementary	(104) Combined Secondary
A	65%	58%	38%
B	15	21	12
C	10	13	2
D	5	6	4
E	5	1	2
F	0	1	42
	100%	100%	100%

A. Two or more grades in two or more places in Minnesota
B. Two or more grades in two or more places, one or more of which may be outside Minnesota
C. One grade in one place (only the present school)
D. No answer or none (teacher's aide)
E. One grade in two or more places in Minnesota
F. Two or more grades in one place (only the present school)

TABLE CIII: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"How many years of teaching experience do you have?"

	(18) Combined Village Elementary	(71) Combined Border Elementary	(105) Combined Secondary
A	39%	37%	27%
B	28	24	22
C	17	15	19
D	10	8	14
E	6	10	11
F	0	6	7
	100%	100%	100%

A. No answer
B. above 10 years
C. 4-6 years
D. 2-3 years
E. 7-10 years
F. First year of teaching now

Nothing in any of the data above would justify an idictment of Blue Pine teachers, nor would the conversations held with many of these teachers in thecourse of classroom observations, personal interviews, and casual discussions. Many of them are reasonably searching for appropriate solutions to the problems they have cited, and many are turning --often fruitlessly--to social scientists, educators, and other professionals in their search for more appropriate techniques and more sophisticated educational outlooks. Few, however, see a need to learn about Indians in the course of their searching.

But the high school teachers' responses indicate that academic mechanics at their level are not met by many Indian children. In their own views, many of these teachers, like many professors in higher levels of formal education, wish to preserve what they regard as appropriate standards, even though many in both settings will "bend" for an occasional "poor but promising" student.

There is much "bending" for Indian children in the elementary schools at Blue Pine, with some devastating educational and human results for both secondary school --if it ever comes-- and later life. This bending often stems from kindness or even weariness, and often does not involve inflated grades or social passing to the next formal level. The next section of this report will comparatively describe some of the characteristics of Blue Pine Indian and white boys and girls in five grade categories, proceeding to a discussing of "bending" in the context of what is called the accommodative bi-cultural classroom.

VII. Blue Pine Elementary And Secondary Indian And White Children

A. Comparative standardized test score performances

Indian children tend to do very poorly on standardized tests when compared with state and national scores compiled by the rest of the relevant stratum of the school population.

Blue Pine Indian and white boys and girls in the same grades were locally compared on several tests using universal samples of Indian children and random samples of white children. Though the scoring is uneven, it seems to corroborate the national picture on the Blue Pine local level:

TABLE CIV: COMPARATIVE PERFORMANCES OF VILLAGE INDIAN AND TOWN WHITE BOYS AND GIRLS: IOWA TESTS OF BASIC SKILLS

	Voc.	Rdg.	Sp.	Cap.	Punct.	Usage	Total Lang.
Grade 4							
Indian Girls	35	41	66	47	24	29	41
White Girls	48	44	45	29	36	32	33
Indian Boys	28	30	34	11	19	15	16
White Boys	45	58	43	40	40	40	35
Grade 5							
Indian Girls	28	26	54	26	20	17	20
White Girls	75	74	75	71	71	60	72
Indian Boys	18	24	39	21	31	30	38
White Boys	85	99	61	72	60	59	65
Grade 6							
Indian Girls	26	40	54	29	34	29	34
White Girls	42	37	48	45	49	49	48
Indian Boys	24	17	42	16	27	12	19
White Boys	44	43	49	41	36	51	43

Voc. = Vocabulary
Rdg. = Reading
Sp. = Spelling
Cap. = Capitalization
Punct. = Punctuation

(Continued)

TABLE CIV (CONTINUED):

	Maps	Graphs	Refs	Total Wk-Stdy	Ccpt	Prob	Total Arith	Comp
Grade 4								
Indian Girls	42	22	50	35	25	36	30	34
White Girls	37	45	33	20	24	31	25	36
Indian Boys	30	27	26	25	32	26	26	24
White Boys	57	62	41	53	56	58	48	55
Grade 5								
Indian Girls	32	34	27	25	20	22	19	22
White Girls	65	75	68	75	63	63	67	75
Indian Boys	32	30	34	33	44	28	35	21
White Boys	88	98	73	94	69	60	56	88
Grade 6								
Indian Girls	40	40	29	37	25	24	23	30
White Girls	38	47	54	46	42	42	42	41
Indian Boys	46	31	18	28	21	19	17	18
White Boys	50	53	45	48	40	30	34	42

Refs = References
Ccpt = Concepts
Prob = Problems
Comp = Composite

But these findings, on the local level, are themselves poorly supported by other score averages arrived at on the same basis as the preceding Iowa tests. In this case, an aptitude test was averaged for village and bordertown Indian boys and girls, and bordertown white boys and girls.

TABLE CV: COMPARATIVE APTITUDE TEST PERFORMANCE OF VILLAGE INDIAN BOYS AND GIRLS AND TOWN INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS AND GIRLS (GRADE 9)

	Verb Reas	Num Abil	Abstr Reas	Space Reas	Mech Abil	Cler. Sp & Accur	Ver-Num Total
Village Indian Girls	20	20	25	26	24	37	17
Town Indian Girls	31	28	39	58	28	43	25
Town White Girls	39	38	39	35	32	56	37
Village Indian Boys	23	10	10	12	24	52	12
Town Indian Boys	31	44	43	17	15	76	37
Town White Boys	42	37	53	42	44	64	39

Verb. Reas. = Verbal Reasoning
Num. Abil. = Numerical Ability
Abstr. Abil. = Abstract Reasoning
Space Reas. = Space Reasoning
Mech. Abil. = Mechanical Ability
Cler. Sp. & Accur. = Clerical Speed and Accuracy

Since no village school goes beyond eighth grade, the scores above break down Indian children according to whether they live in or very near a bordertown, or are instead bussed to school from a village. Bordertown Indian children scored better than their village counterparts on this test, with the Indian boys at the top with bordertown white boys and girls.

Table CVI, additionally does not at all indicate strong support for the national picture of relatively poor comparative Indian performance on standardized tests. On the contrary.

TABLE CVI: COMPARATIVE PERFORMANCE OF VILLAGE INDIAN BOYS AND GIRLS AND TOWN WHITE BOYS AND GIRLS: IOWA TESTS OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (GRADE 10)

	1	2	3	4	5
Indian Girls	32	22	48	29	35
White Girls	46	34	60	46	50
Indian Boys	47	47	33	41	39
White Boys	38	34	19	27	34

1 = Social Studies Background
2 = Natural Science Background
3 = Correctness of Expression
4 = Quantitative Thinking (Math)
5 = Reading Social Studies

	6	7	8	9	10
Indian Girls	28	29	16	27	36
White Girls	39	45	34	42	38
Indian Boys	39	34	37	33	37
White Boys	32	32	33	31	25

6 = Reading Natural Science
7 = Reading Literature
8 = General Vocabulary
9 = Composite Score 1-8
10 = Uses of Sources of Information

These Blue Pine Indian and white test samples are not based upon research broad enough to warrant bold conclusions, but they do suggest that, at least in a local bordertown context at Blue Pine, Indian children can perform as well or better on standardized tests than local white children, and that greater test score differences may exist between village and bordertown Indian children than between Indians and whites as such.

But the hard facts of great Indian dropout proportions remain, these test scores aside. And similar basic attitudes toward formal education and its meanings on the part of Indian parents and white parents aside, as well.

B. Comparative characteristics of Indian and white school children by three grade categories

At a point several weeks after the data reported on above were collected, approximately 1,400 Blue Pine Indian and white boys and girls in grades 3 - 12 were asked to complete a simple, open-ended questionnaire during a short break from their daily classroom routines. The Indian sample was obtained on a universal basis; the white on a stratified random basis.

The next few pages juxtapose the responses of 88 village Indian boys and 219 bordertown white boys in grades 3 - 6. Responses for each category of student are listed in decreasing order of occurence.

1. THE "TYPICAL" BOY IN THE GRADE RANGE 3 - 6:

INDIAN (88)			WHITE (219)		
Said he had previously lived:					
no response,	32%		elsewhere in Minnesota,	25%	
elsewhere in Minnesota,	24		nowhere else,	23	
in the Twin Cities,	17		no response,	23	
or outside Minnesota	12	85%	outside Minnesota	15	
			or some combination of Twin Cities elsewhere in Minnesota, and outside Minnesota	11	97%
Said his best school subject was:					
reading, writing, and spelling,	40%		math,	42%	
math,	28		reading, writing, spelling,	22	
art,	16		physical sciences,	14	
or physical sciences	10	94%	or art	12	90%
Said his worst school subject was:					
reading, writing, and spelling,	41%		reading, writing, spelling,	39%	
or math	35	76%	math,	26	
			social studies,	12	
			or physical sciences	10	87%

Said his parents visited the school:

sometimes,	38%		for PTA and parent conferences,	53%	
for PTA and parent conferences,	17		sometimes,	23	
no response,	13		or no response	10	
					86%
or never	12				
		80%			

Said his parents' reaction to his grades was:

good things said,	38%		good things said,	43%	
bad things said,	17		bad things said,	15	
noncommittal things said,	14		or noncommittal things said	14	
					72%
or no response (by child)	14				
		83%			

Said his parents' view on school attendance was:

to say to go,	73%		to say to go		78%
or no response (by child)	17				
		90%			

Said his parents' view about school was:

to say it is good,	54%		to say it is good,	66%	
to say nothing,	17		to say it is all right,	13	
or no response (by child)	16		or no response (from child)	12	
		87%			91%

Said he really liked a particular teacher because:

no response,	41%	he/she was "kind" or "nice",	49%
he/she was "kind" or "nice",	32	no response	24
or he liked all the teachers	14	he liked all the teachers,	13
		or he/she was both "kind" or "nice" and helpful	12
	87%		98%

Said he didn't really like a particular teacher because:

no response,	48%	he/she was "mean" or "hard",	34%
he didn't like any teacher,	18	no response,	29
he liked all the teachers,	16	he liked all the teachers	16
or he/she was "mean" or "hard"	16	or he didn't like any teacher	12
	98%		91%

Said he felt really proud in school:

no response,	41%	when he performed well on grades,	46%
when he performed well on grades,	26	or no response	37
or when he performed well on tasks	16		
	83%		83%

Said he felt really bad at school:

no response,	51%	no response,	40%
when he didn't perform well on grades,	21	or when he didn't perform well on grades	35
or when he didn't perform well on tasks	14		
	86%		75%

Said, when asked if other pupils ever made him feel bad at school:

no,	53%	yes,	39%
or yes	38	no,	38
	91%	or no response	19
			96%

Said, when asked why he responded as he did (when asked if other pupils ever made him feel bad at school):

no response,	58%	no response,	43%
others tease him	17	others tease him	24
others physically abuse him,	13	or others are friends	16
or others are friends	10		83%
	98%		

Said he preferred as a friend in class:

a boy (non-relative),	82%	a boy (non-relative),	74%
or no response	14	or no response	19
	96%		93%

Said, when asked why he liked a certain pupil most in class:

the pupil provided friendship,	31%	the pupil is entertaining and provides companionship,	38%
no response,	25	no response,	23
the pupil is entertaining and provides companionship	19	the pupil provides help,	21
	75%	or the pupil provides companionship	10
			92%

Said, when asked who he liked a lot who is not in school:

a boy (non-relative),	41%		a boy (non-relative),	33%	
a boy (relative),	24		no response,	26	
or no response	24	89%	or a boy (relative)	22	81%

Said, when asked why he liked a certain person who is not in school:

no response,	30%		no response,	39%	
person is a member of nuclear family,	20		person is a member of nuclear family,	20	
person is entertaining and provides companionship,	15		or person is entertaining and provides companionship	16	75%
person is member of extended family,	14				
or person provides companionship	10	89%			

Said, when asked when he really wanted to remain home from school:

no response,	69%		no response,	63%	
or when ill	11	80%	or when tests are given	19	82%

Said, when asked what he liked to do for fun:

group games,	42%		both group and solitary games,	67%	
both group and solitary games,	40		or group games	17	84%
or solitary games	12	94%			

Said, when asked when he felt really proud at home:

no response,	46%		no response,	41%	
when he does right by himself,	22		when he does right by himself,	37	
or when he does right by others	19	87%	or when he does right by others	16	94%

Said, when asked when he felt really bad at home:

no response,	44%		no response,	39%	
or during violence (fights, spankings)	20	64%	when he does badly by himself,	23	
			during violence (fights, spankings),	16	
			or when he does badly by others	11	89%

Said, when asked what he wants to be now:

a man,	23%		a man,	26%	
no response,	21		a performer (TV, movies, radio),	25	
or a performer (TV, movies, radio)	16	60%	or no response	11	62%

Said, when asked what he wants to be when he grows up:

military,	28%		professional, clerical, or kindred	24%	
or professional, clerical, kindred	22	50%	farmer, farm manager, laborer, or foreman,	20	
			or service worker	14	58%

These data tabulations indicate that young village Chippewa schoolboys at Blue Pine are alike in most ways measured by the questionnaire much like their white bordertown counterparts in grades 3 - 6:

1. both are about equally mobil (53% of the Indian children had lived elsewhere; 51% of the white);
2. the Indian boys liked math (28%) less than white boys (42%), but liked reading, writing, and spelling more often (40% vs. 22%);
3. both disliked reading, writing, and spelling as often (41% I; 39% W), with math a close second (35% I; 26% W), and with white boys disliking social studies (12%) or physical sciences (10%);
4. the parents of Indian children far less often visited the school;
5. both got about the same response to their grades from parents (usually good);
6. both were usually urged to go to school by their parents (73% I; 78% W);
7. the Indian boys indicated less approval of the school by their parents;
8. the Indian boys were much more reticent about saying why they liked a particular teacher (not named);
9. the Indian boys were much more reticent about saying why they disliked a particular teacher, but indicated, overall, less dislike for teachers than the bordertown white boys;
10. the Indian boys showed less emphasis on grades as a measure of positive or negative school performance,

and more on tasks;

11. the Indian boys indicated less trouble with bad feelings induced in them by others at school;
12. the Indian boys indicated that physical abuse was more a problem for them at school;
13. both preferred other boys for school friends roughly as often;
14. Indian boys indicated far more often a preference for affect friendship as opposed to more instrumental friendships on the part of white boys;
15. both preferred relatives and non-relatives as out-of-school friends in about the same proportions, and for about the same reasons, except that Indian boys mentioned extended family friends and companionship more often;
16. both were reticent about mentioning why they wanted to stay home from school, except that Indian boys more often mentioned illness (11%) than white boys, who mentioned tests (19%);
17. both appeared to have about the same preferences in the social setting of play, except that Indian boys may have preferred or been experienced in more solitary games;
18. Indian boys felt pride at home less often for reasons related to self-expression (22% I; 37% W);
19. Indian boys also less often mentioned self-expression related to bad feelings in the home (23% W);
20. both would be, if they had their wishes, about the "same" sort of person now;

21. but both would be rather "different" persons when they grow up, with Indian boys more often in the military and white boys going into farm-related labor and other blue-collar jobs.

2. THE "TYPICAL" GIRL IN THE GRADE RANGE 3 - 6:

INDIAN (90)			WHITE (224)		
Said she had previously lived:					
elsewhere in Minnesota,	28%		no response,	29%	
no response	27		nowhere else,	25	
or some combination of the Twin Cities, elsewhere in Minnesota, and outside Minnesota	22	77%	elsewhere in Minnesota,	20	
			some combination of Twin Cities, elsewhere in Minnesota, and outside Minnesota,	12	
			or outside Minnesota	10	96%
Said her best school subject was:					
reading, writing, spelling,	47%		reading, writing, spelling,	36%	
math,	27		math,	32	
or art	10	84%	or art	14	82%
Said her worst school subject was:					
math,	33%		math,	33%	
reading, writing, spelling,	24		reading, writing, spelling,	19	
social studies,	18		social studies,	19	
or physical sciences	14	89%	or physical sciences	16	87%

Said her parents visited the school:

sometimes,	38%		for PTA and parent conferences,	57%	
for PTA and parent conferences,	26		or sometimes	29	86%
never,	12				
or no response	12	88%			

Said her parents' reaction to her grades was:

good things said,	46%		good things said,	50%	
bad things said,	25		or bad things said	16	66%
or noncommittal things said	12	83%			

Said her parents' view on school attendance was:

to say to go		81%	to say to go,	73%	
			or to say nothing	14	87%

Said her parents' view about school was:

to say it is good	67%		to say it is good,	69%	
or to say nothing	12	79%	or no response (from child)	11	80%

Said she really liked a particular teacher because:

he/she was "kind" or "nice"	63%		he/she was "kind" or "nice",	54%	
or no response	19	82%	he/she was both "kind" or "nice" and helpful,	18	
			or no response	16	88%

Said she really didn't like a particular teacher because:

no response,	42%	
she didn't like any teacher,	26	
he/she was "mean" or "hard"	19	
or she liked all the teachers	10	
		97%

no response,	25%	
he/she was "mean" or "hard",	24	
she liked all the teachers,	21	
she didn't like any teacher,	18	
or he/she was "mean" or "hard" and not helpful	10	
		98%

Said she felt really proud in school:

no response,	49%	
or when she performed well on grades	32	
		81%

when she performed well on grades,	52%	
no response,	28	
or when she performed well for herself	10	
		90%

Said she felt really bad in school:

no response,	55%	
when she didn't perform well on grades	19	
or, when she didn't perform well on tasks	10	
		84%

when she didn't perform well on grades,	42%	
no response,	36	
or when she didn't perform well for herself	11	
		89%

Said, when asked if other pupils ever made her feel bad at school:

yes,	52%	
or no	41	
		93%

yes,	46%	
no,	40	
or no response	12	
		98%

Said, when asked why she responded as she did (when asked if other pupils ever made her feel bad at school):

no response,	41%		no response,	36%	
others tease her,	32		others tease her,	32	
or others are friends	10		or others are friends	17	
		83%			85%

Said she preferred as a friend in class:

a girl (non-relative)		82%	a girl (non-relative)	75%	
			or no response	18	
					93%

Said, when asked why she liked a certain pupil most in class:

pupil provides companionship	44%		pupil provides help,	36%	
pupil provides help	19		pupil is entertaining and provides companionship,	32	
pupil is entertaining and provides companionship	17		no response,	18	
or no response	12		or pupil provides companionship	10	
		92%			96%

Said, when asked who she liked a lot who is not in school:

a girl (non-relative),	44%		a girl (non-relative),	41%	
no response,	19		no response,	19	
a girl (relative)	13		or a girl (relative)	16	
a boy (relative)	11				76%
parents, aunts, uncles, grandfathers and grandmothers	10				
		97%			

Said, when asked why she liked a certain person who is not in school:

no response,	29%	no response,	42%
person provides companionship	20	person is entertaining and provides companionship,	22
person is a member of nuclear family	16	person is member of nuclear family	11
person is entertaining and provides companionship,	14	or person provides help	11
person is member of extended family	11		
	90%		86%

Said, when asked when she really wanted to remain home from school:

no response,	64%	no response,	59%
when ill,	12	or when tests are given	26
or when tests are given	12		
	88%		85%

Said, when asked what she likes to do for fun:

both group and solitary games,	50%	both group and solitary games	71%
solitary games,	23		
or group games	19		
	92%		

Said, when asked when she felt really proud at home:

no response,	45%	no response,	37%
when she does right by others	31	when she does right by herself,	35
when she does right by herself	17	or when she does right by others	24
	93%		96%

Said, when asked when she felt really bad at home:

no response,	45%		no response,	32%	
during violence (fights, spankings),	24		when she does badly by herself,	29	
or when she does badly by herself	12		when she does badly by others,	18	
		81%	or during violence (fights, spankings)	13	
					92%

Said, when asked what she wants to be now:

professional, clerical, kindred,	21%		performer (TV, movies, radio),	32%	
a woman,	22		a woman,	30	
no response	18		or self ("me")	13	
a performer (TV, movies, radio)	16				75%
		77%			

Said, when asked what she wants to be when she grows up:

professional, clerical, kindred,	45%		professionak clerical, kindred,	33%	
or school professional	24		or school professional	28	
		69%			61%

Similarly, 90 Indian girls and 224 white girls in the grade range 3 - 6 were also quite alike on the responses made to the questionnaire:

1. about half of both pupil categories had lived elsewhere in Minnesota or outside the state;
2. both liked the same subjects in the same order (reading, writing, and spelling; math; and art), and disliked the same subjects in the same order (reading, writing, and spelling; math; and art);
3. the Indian girls indicated that their parents visited the schools much less often;
4. the Indian girls said their parents had roughly the same reactions to grades, except that they were more often noncommittal;
5. both Indian and white girls said their parents told them to go to school about as often (81% I; 73% W);
6. both indicated that their parents thought school was a good place;
7. both said they liked a teacher who was "kind" or "nice", with white girls emphasizing teacher helpfulness more than Indian girls;
8. Indian girls showed a hesitation to respond about disliked teachers, and were about as often critical of them;
9. Indian girls were hesitant to respond about proud feelings in school, and greatly de-emphasized grades when compared with white girls;
10. both were about as often made to feel badly at school by

other pupils, and for the same reasons;

11. both preferred other girls as classroom friends, and in neither case were these friends specifically mentioned as relatives;
12. Indian girls strongly emphasized the affect aspects of friendship over instrumental aspects compared with white girls;
13. both had about the same non-school friends, except that Indian girls mentioned boys (11%) and extended family members (10%) more often;
14. Indian girls stressed the affect nature of these friendships more, and also stressed family ties;
15. Indian girls gave illness as a reason for staying home from school more often than white girls, who indicated that tests were a problem (26%);
16. Indian girls seemed more inclined to or experienced with solitary games compared with white girls;
17. Indian girls tended not to emphasize fidelity to the self as much when asked when they were proud or sad at home;
18. Indian girls were much more vocationally oriented in terms of present interests than white girls, and far less so when asked what they wanted to be in the future.

3. THE "TYPICAL" BOY IN THE GRADE RANGE 7 - 9:

Said he had previously lived:

INDIAN (72)		WHITE (150)	
elsewhere in Minnesota,	26%	nowhere else,	35%
nowhere else,	22	elsewhere in Minnesota,	22
some combination of Twin Cities, elsewhere in Minnesota, and outside Minnesota	18	no response	16
no response,	15	outside Minnesota	13
or Twin Cities	11	or some combination of the Twin Cities, elsewhere in Minnesota, and outside Minnesota	12
	92%		98%

Said his best school subject was:

INDIAN (72)		WHITE (150)	
math,	33%	math,	26%
physical sciences,	18	physical sciences,	22
reading, writing, spelling,	15	art,	21
no response,	11	or social studies	19
social studies,	11		
or art	10		
	98%		88%

Said his worst school subject was:

INDIAN (72)		WHITE (150)	
math,	25%	reading, writing, spelling,	35%
reading, writing, spelling,	24	math,	20
social studies,	22	physical sciences,	17
or physical sciences	15	or social studies	15
	86%		87%

Said his parents visited the school:

sometimes,	31%	PTA and parent conferences,	49%
never,	28	never,	17
no response,	18	sometimes,	16
or PTA and parent conferences	16	or no response	10
	93%		92%

Said his parents' reaction to his grades was:

bad things said,	40%	bad things said,	43%
good things said,	21	good things said,	18
nothing said,	14	noncommittal things said,	13
or noncommittal things said	13	nothing said,	10
		or both good and bad said	10
	88%		94%

Said his parents' view on school attendance was:

to say to go,	77%	to say to go,	71%
or to say nothing	11	or to say nothing	19
	88%		90%

Said his parents' view about school was:

to say it is good,	47%	to say it is good,	60%
to say nothing,	26	to say nothing,	14
or to say it is all right	13		
	86%		74%

Said he really liked a particular teacher because:

he/she was "kind" or "nice",	38%	
he/she was both "kind" or "nice" and helpful,	28	
no response,	18	
or he liked all the teachers	12	
		96%

he/she was "kind" or "nice",	32%	
he/she was both "kind" or "nice" and helpful,	30	
he liked all the teachers,	21	
or no response	12	
		95%

Said he really didn't like a particular teacher because:

no response,	3[illegible]%	
he liked all the teachers	31	
or he/she was "mean" or "hard"	25	
		87%

he liked all the teachers,	37%	
no response,	19	
he/she was "mean" or "hard" and not helpful,	18	
he/she was "mean" or "hard",	15	
or he didn't like any teacher	10	
		99%

Said he felt really proud in school:

no response,	41%	
when he performed well on grades	36	
or when he performed well for himself	14	
		91%

when he performed well on grades,	51%	
or no response	27	
		78%

Said he felt really bad in school:

no response,	40%	when he didn't perform well on grades,	43%
when he didn't perform well on grades,	33	no response,	30
or when he didn't perform well for himself	10	or when he didn't perform well for himself	10
	83%		83%

Said, when asked if other pupils ever made him feel bad at school:

no,	46%	no,	47%
yes,	35	or yes	44
or no response	13		91%
	94%		

Said, when asked why he responded as he did (when asked if other pupils ever made him feel bad at school):

no response,	46%	no response,	48%
others tease him,	18	or others tease him	31
or others are friends	11		79%
	75%		

Said he preferred as a friend in class:

a boy (non-relative),	79%	a boy (non-relative),	73%
or no response	11	or no response	13
	90%		86%

Said, when asked why he liked a certain pupil most in class:

pupil is entertaining and provides companionship,	56%	pupil is entertaining and provides companionship,	52%
no response,	14	pupil provides help	19
or pupil provides companionship	10	or no response	17
	80%		88%

Said, when asked who he liked a lot who is not in school:

a boy (non-relative),	36%	a boy (non-relative),	39%
no response,	29	a boy (relative),	25
or a boy (relative)	17	or no response	22
	82%		86%

Said, when asked why he liked a certain person who is not in school:

no response,	38%	no response,	34%
person is entertaining and provides companionship,	29	person is entertaining and provides companionship,	34
person is member of nuclear family,	10	or person provides help	10
or person provides help	10		78%
	87%		

Said, when asked when he really wanted to remain home from school:

no response,	72%	no response,	64%
or when tests are given	13	or when tests are given	18
	85%		82%

Said, when asked what he likes to do for fun:

both group and solitary games,	60%	both group and solitary games,	80%
or group games	25	or group games	10
	85%		90%

Said, when asked when he felt really proud at home:

no response,	51%	when he does right by himself,	49%
when he does right by himself,	25	no response,	29
or when he does right by others	10	or when he does badly by others	14
	86%		92%

Said, when asked when he felt really bad at home:

no response,	52%		when he does badly by himself,	42%	
when he does badly by himself.	17		no response,	28	
or when he does badly by others	14		or when he does badly by others	15	
		83%			85%

Said, when asked what he wants to be now:

no response,	35%		a man,	22%	
self ("me"),	18		performer (TV, movies, radio),	17	
or performer (TV, movies, radio)	17		self ("me"),	16	
		70%	no response,	15	
			professional, clerical, kindred	14	
					84%

Said, when asked what he wants to be when he grows up:

professional, clerical, and kindred,	20%		professional, clerical, kindred,	23%	
nothing; no one, don't know,	16		operative,	14	
military,	16		farmer, farm manager, laborer, and foreman,	12	
or no response	12		or service worker	10	
		64%			59%

4

In the grade range 7 - 9, 72 Indian boys and 150 white boys responded to the questionnaire. The marked similarity of responses in most categories continues with these children:

1. both had lived elsewhere in Minnesota or out of the state roughly as often;
2. both liked math, and physical sciences most, but white boys liked art and social studies more, and Indian boys more often preferred reading, writing, and spelling;
3. both disliked the same subjects, although in differing proportions,with Indian children disliking reading, writing, and spelling less and math and social studies more;
4. the parents of Indian children visited the school far less often, according to the Indian boys;
5. both pupil categories indicated nearly identical parental responses to grades;
6. both indicated that parents told them to go to school as often (77% I; 71% W);
7. both parental categories were said to generally approve of the schools, although Indian parents were pictured as less enthusiastic;
8. both Indian and white boys indicated they liked a particular (not named) teacher for about the same reasons, although Indian boys disliked teachers for not being "helpful" less frequently;
9. Indian boys de-emphasized the importance of grades to negative or proud feelings in school, and emphasized fidelity to self in the case of proud feelings;

10. both were made to feel badly by other pupils about as often, although Indian boys indicated teasing was less a problem for them;
11. both preferred other boys, not named as relatives, as friends in class;
12. Indian boys stressed affect reasons for friendship, while white boys put more stress on helpfulness;
13. both gave roughly the same responses when asked who non-school friends were, and indicated about the same reasons for friendship, except that Indian boys more often referred to the nuclear family;
14. both were reticent, but said they wished to remain home from school because of tests;
15. Indian boys may have preferred or been experienced with solitary games more than white boys;
16. Indian boys said they felt badly or proud at home far less often for reasons related to fidelity to self, and were much more reticent to respond;
17. Indian boys were more reticent, and less vocationally or "male role" oriented when asked what they would like to be now;
18. both indicated about the same proportion of interest (20% I; 23% W) in professional, clerical or kindred jobs when asked what they wanted to be when they grew up, but Indian boys were more often oriented to the military, less to blue collar, and more uncertain than white boys (59% of the white boys indicated a preference vs. 36% of the Indian boys).

4. THE "TYPICAL" GIRL IN THE GRADE RANGE 7 - 9:

Said she had previously lived:

INDIAN (70)			WHITE (114)		
nowhere else,	29%		nowhere else,	35%	
elsewhere in Minnesota,	27		elsewhere in Minnesota,	22	
no response,	13		no response,	17	
outside Minnesota,	11		outside Minnesota,	15	
Twin Cities,	10		or some combination of Twin Cities, elsewhere in Minnesota, and outside Minnesota	10	99%
or some combination of Twin Cities, elsewhere in Minnesota, and outside Minnesota	10	100%			

Said her best school subject was:

INDIAN (70)			WHITE (114)		
math,	40%		math,	36%	
reading, writing, spelling,	27		reading, writing, spelling,	23	
or physical sciences	10	77%	physical sciences	17	
			social studies,	13	
			or home economics	10	99%

Said her worst school subject was:

INDIAN (70)			WHITE (114)		
social studies,	24%		social studies,	32%	
reading, writing, spelling,	22		physical sciences,	25	23
math,	20		math,	22	
physical sciences	16		or reading, writing, spelling	11	90%
or they are all the same	11	93%			

Said her parents visited the school:

never,	27%		for PTA and parent conferences	53%	
for PTA and parent conferences,	26		or sometimes	26	
					79%
sometimes,	22				
or no response	15				
		90%			

Said her parents' reaction to her grades was:

bad things said,	46%		good things said,	29%	
good things said,	20		bad things said,	29	
or noncommittal things said	17		noncommittal things said,	20	
		83%			
			or both good and bad said	11	
					89%

Said her parents' view on school attendance was:

to say to go		73%	to say to go	63%	
			or to say nothing	27	
					90%

Said her parents' view about school was:

to say it is good,	41%		to say it is good,	59%	
to say nothing,	18		to say it is all right	11	
to say it is all right,	15		to say it is bad	10	
					80%
or no answer (by child)	13				
		87%			

Said she really liked a particular teacher because:

he/she was "kind" or "nice",	48%	he/she was both "kind" or "nice" and helpful,	46%
he/she was both "kind" or "nice" and helpful,	27	he/she was "kind" or "nice"	36
or no response	10		
	85%		82%

Said she really didn't like a particular teacher because:

he/she is "mean" or "hard",	31%	he/she was "mean" or "hard" and not helpful,	28%
he/she is "mean" or "hard" and not helpful,	18	she liked all teachers,	23
she liked all the teachers,	18	he/she was "mean" or "hard",	20
no response,	16	she didn't like any teacher,	14
or she didn't like any teacher	14	or no response	13
	97%		98%

Said she felt really proud in school:

when she performed well on grades,	59%	when she performed well on grades,	68%
or no response	29	no response,	17
		or when she performed well for herself	10
	88%		85%

Said she felt really bad in school:

when she didn't perform well on grades,	46%	when she didn't perform well on grades,	51%
no response,	32	no response,	25
when she didn't perform well for herself	10	or when she didn't perform well for herself	10
	88%		86%

Said, when asked if other pupils ever made her feel bad at school:

yes,	46%	yes,	47%
or no	46	or no	44
	92%		91%

Said, when asked why she responded as she did (when asked if other pupils ever made her feel bad at school):

no response,	35%	others tease her,	32%
others tease her,	21	no response,	30
or others are friends	13	or others are friends	18
	69%		80%

Said she preferred as a friend in class:

a girl (non-relative)	86%	a girl (non-relative)	86%

Said, when asked why she liked a certain pupil most in class:

pupil is entertaining and provides companionship,	43	pupil is entertaining and provides companionship,	61%
pupil provides help,	26	pupil provides help,	19
pupil provides companionship	20	or pupil provides companionship	10
or no response	10		90%
	99%		

Said, when asked who she liked a lot who is not in school:

a girl (non-relative),	34%	a girl (non-relative),	27%
no response,	23	a girl (relative),	27
a boy (non-relative),	14	no response,	15
a girl (relative)	13	or a boy (non-relative)	13
	84%		82%

Said, when asked why she liked a certain person who is not in school:

no response,	38%	person is entertaining and provides companionship,	36%
person is entertaining and provides companionship,	38	no response,	35
or person is member of nuclear family	11	or person provides help	10
	87%		81%

Said, when asked when she really wanted to remain home from school:

no response,	55%	no response,	58%
when tests are given	25	or when tests are given	22
or when speeches are given	10		
	90%		80%

Said when asked what she likes to do for fun:

both group and solitary games,	61%	both group and solitary games,	59%
group games,	14	or group and solitary recreation, often with reading and popular music	19
or group and solitary recreation, often with reading and popular music	11		
	86%		78%

Said, when asked when she felt really proud at home:

no response,	45%		when she does right by herself,	44%	
when she does right by others	25		when she does right by others,	27	
or when she does right by herself	23		or no response	26	
		93%			97%

Said, when asked when she felt really bad at home:

no response	43%		when she does badly by herself,	37%	
during violence (fights, spankings)	20		no response,	35	
when she does badly by others	16		or when she does badly by others	12	
when she does badly by herself	14				
		93%			84%

Said, when asked what she wants to be now:

a woman,	25%		no response,	26%	
no response,	20		performer (TV, movies, radio)	23	
self ("me"),	12		self ("me"),	21	
performer (TV, movies, radio)	12		or a woman	13	
		69%			83%

Said, when asked what she wants to be when she grows up:

professional, clerical, and kindred,	32%		professional, clerical, kindred,	26%	
service worker,	18		school professional	22	
nothing; no one; don't know,	15		service worker,	19	
school professional	11		nothing; no one; don't know	12	
		76%			79%

The juxtaposed data above compare the responses of 70 Blue Pine Indian and 114 bordertown white girls in the grade range 7 - 9. Again, as before, the most notable aspect of these paired responses is their general similarity on many questionnaire items:

1. both Indian and white girls are roughly as likely to have lived elsewhere;
2. Indian girls like the same subjects in the same order, but do not refer to social studies and home economics;
3. Indian girls dislike the physical sciences and social studies less, reading, writing, and spelling more, and in 11% of the cases indicate that all subjects are the same;
4. the parents of Indian girls are said to visit the school far less often;
5. the parents of Indian girls are said to respond negatively more often to grades;
6. the parents of Indian girls are more likely to tell the child to go to school, but less likely to approve of the school;
7. Indian girls are less likely to stress the helpful qualities of the "kind" or "nice" teacher, or the lack of them in the teacher;
8. Indian girls were more reticent about responding to feelings of pride in school and mentioned grades slightly less often;
9. both pupil categories indicated that bad feelings at school were linked with grades, or showed reticence to respond;

10. both were made to feel badly or not badly by other pupils in about half the cases in each category;
11. white girls indicated teasing as a cause of discomfiture from other students more often;
12. both prefer other girls (not named as relatives) as friends in class;
13. both said they liked these persons for roughly the same reasons;
14. white girls slightly more often indicated a preference for relatives in out-of-class friendships, although the reasons given for these friendships were about the same, excepting mentions (11%) of nuclear family relationship by Indian girls and of help provision (10%) by white girls;
15. both said they wished to remain home from school for the same reasons, except that Indian girls indicated in 10% of the cases that they wished to avoid speeches;
16. both appeared to express roughly the same social context preferences or experiences for recreation;
17. Indian girls showed less emphasis on fidelity to self in determining negative or proud feelings at home, were more reticent to respond, and mentioned violence in 20% of the cases concerned with bad feelings at home;
18. Indian girls showed slightly less emphasis on being faithful to the self when asked what they would like to become now, but mentioned slightly more often becoming a "woman", while white girls slightly more often referred to performer roles;

19. both responded almost identically when asked what they wished to be when grown up, although white girls more often mentioned school professional roles (22% W; 11% I).

5. THE "TYPICAL" BOY IN THE GRADE RANGE 10 - 12:

Said he had previously lived:

INDIAN (28)			**WHITE** (151)		
elsewhere in Minnesota,	32%		nowhere else,	56%	
nowhere else,	25		elsewhere in Minnesota,	17	
some combination of Twin Cities, elsewhere in Minnesota, and outside Minnesota,	14		or outside Minnesota	11	84%
no response,	11				
or outside Minnesota	11	93%			

Said his best school subject was:

art,	28%		art,	33%	
physical sciences,	21		math,	23	
social studies,	18		physical sciences,	18	
or reading, writing, spelling	11	78%	or social studies	13	87%

Said his worst school subject was:

reading, writing, spelling,	28%		reading, writing, spelling,	44%	
social studies,	25		social studies,	25	
physical sciences,	18		math,	11	
or don't know	11	82%	or physical sciences	10	90%

Said his parents visited the school:

never,	52%	
no response,	22	
sometimes,	11	
or for PTA and parent conferences	11	
		96%

for PTA and parent conferences,	42%	
sometimes,	27	
or never	25	
		94%

Said his parents' reaction to his grades was:

bad things said,	46%	
or nothing said	22	
		68%

bad things said,	41%	
noncommittal things said,	17	
nothing said,	16	
or good things said	14	
		88%

Said his parents' view on school attendance was:

to say to go,	61%	
no response (by child),	18	
or to say nothing	14	
		93%

to say to go,	67%	
or to say nothing	24	
		91%

Said his parents' view about school was:

to say nothing,	36%	
to say it is good,	35	
or no response (by child)	25	
		96%

to say it is good,	58%	
or to say nothing	14	
		72%

Said he really liked a particular teacher because:

he/she was both "kind" or "nice" and helpful,	29%		he/she was both "kind" or "nice" and helpful	52%	
he liked all the teachers,	29		he liked all the teachers,	18	
no response,	20		he/she was "kind" or "nice"	16	86%
he/she was "kind" or "nice"	18	96%			

Said he really didn't like a particular teacher because:

he liked all the teachers,	43%		he/she was "mean" or "hard" and not helpful,	33%	
no response,	32		he liked all the teachers,	33	
he/she was "mean" or "hard" and not helpful	11	86%	or no response	19	85%

Said he felt really proud in school:

when he performed well on grades,	52%		when he performed well on grades,	52%	
or no response	42	94%	no response,	27	
			or when he performed well for himself	19	98%

Said he felt really bad in school:

no response,	45%		when he didn't perform well on grades,	48%	
or when he didn't perform well on grades	36	81%	no response,	29	
			or when he didn't perform well for himself	17	94%

Said, when asked if other pupils ever made him feel bad at school:

no,	75%		no,	60%	
or yes	18		or yes	32	
		93%			92%

Said, when asked why he responded as he did
(when asked if other pupils ever made him feel bad at school):

no response,	53%		no response,	51%	
others are f friends,	21		others are friends,	17	
or don't wish to tell	11		others tease him	15	
		85%			83%

Said he preferred as a friend in class:

a boy (non-relative),	54%		a boy (non-relative),	68%	
or no response	29		or no response	20	
		83%			88%

Said, when asked why he liked a certain pupil most in class:

no response,	48%		pupil is entertaining *and* provides companionship,	58%	
or pupil is entertaining *and* provides companionship	41		or no response,	24	
		89%			82%

Said, when asked who he liked a lot who is not in school:

a boy (non-relative),	37%		a boy (non-relative),	40%	
no response,	30		no response,	28	
a girl (relative)	11		or a boy (relative)	16	
a boy (relative)	11				84%
		89%			

Said, when asked why he liked a certain person who is not in school:

no response,	36%	person is entertaining and provides companionship,	41%
person is entertaining and provides companionship,	29	no response,	35
person is member of nuclear family,	21	or person provides help	13
or person provides help	10		
	96%		89%

Said, when asked when he really wanted to remain home from school:

no response,	71%	no response,	68%
or when tests are given	14	or when tests are given	11
	85%		79%

Said, when asked what he likes to do for fun:

both group and solitary games,	79%	both group and solitary games,	75%
or group games	11	or group games	11
	90%		86%

Said, when asked when he felt really proud at home:

when he does right by himself,	38%	when he does right by himself,	51%
no response,	29	no response,	14
or don't know	11	or when he does right by others	13
	78%		78%

Said, when asked when he felt really bad at home:

no response,	32%	when he does badly by himself,	34%
when he does badly by himself,	32	no response	30
never.	11	or when he does badly by others	13
or during violence	11		
	86%		77%

Said, when asked what he wants to be now:

no response,	30%	no response,	22%
self ("me"),	20	self ("me"),	18
a man	17	a man,	17
or a performer (TV, movies, radio)	10	or professional, clerical, kindred	17
	77%		74%

Said, when asked what he wants to be when he grows up:

nothing; no one; don't know,	25%
professional, clerical, kindred,	21
no response,	14
craftsman, foreman, kindred	14
	74%

In the grade range 10 - 12, twenty-eight Indian boys from Blue Pine and 151 white boys from the reservation area were given the questionnaire. As can be seen, their juxtaposed responses follow the tendency already established for general similarities in most response categories, although differences here were greater than in any of the five other matched sets of responses:

1. Indian boys had lived elsewhere 29% more often than white boys;
2. both liked the same subjects, except that white boys liked math more often (23%), and Indian boys liked reading, writing, and spelling (11%);
3. both disliked social studies equally, reading, writing and spelling differently (28% I; 44% W), math differently (11% W), physical sciences slightly differently (18% I; 10% W), while Indians expressed in 11% of the cases a "don't know" response;
4. Indian parents were said to visit the school far less often;
5. both pupil categories received roughly similar response from parents to grades, although good (14%) and noncommittal things (17%) were more often attributed to white parents;
6. both were told by their parents to go to school, although Indian boys were more reticent to respond;
7. great differences toward the qualities of the school were revealed between judgements attributed the two parental categories, with the Indian responses far more noncommittal and less approving;

8. Indian boys' positive and negative responses to teachers were less based on the "helping" qualities of the teacher, and he was more willing to express a liking for all teachers, and to be more reticent to respond;
9. although more reticent to respond, and less concerned with fidelity to self, Indian boys were also proud or unhappy in school over grades;
10. Indian boys seemed slightly less often made unhappy at school by other pupils, but when made unhappy it was for reasons he did not wish to reveal (11%), as opposed to teasing for white boys (15%);
11. both preferred male pupil companionship in class (not mentioned as relative), for reasons of entertainment and friendship (41% I; 58% W), although many Indian boys (48%) did not respond;
12. both preferred the same non-school types of friends, except that Indian boys (11%) more often mentioned girls, and more often (21%) mentioned as a reason that out-of-school friends were nuclear family members;
13. both gave tests as the most pressing reason for wishing to remain home from school, although both were very reticent to respond;
14. both expressed the same preferences for or experiences with the social context of recreation;
15. Indian boys stressed fidelity to self and others less often in response to the item concerning proud feelings at home, and were more reticent to respond;

16. both expressed bad feelings when not remaining faithful to self at home equally, although white boys (13%) stressed poor support given to others and Indian boys mentioned violence (11%) or "never" (11%);
17. both expressed roughly similar wishes to be someone they wanted to be now, except that Indian boys mentioned performing roles more often (10%) and white boys professional, clerical, or kindred roles (17%);
18. while the same proportion in each pupil category expressed a desire to occupy a professional, clerical or kindred role in the future, nearly twice the proportion of white boys expressed some kind of occupational preference compared with Indian boys.

6. THE "TYPICAL" GIRL IN THE GRADE RANGE 10 - 12:

INDIAN (57)			WHITE (131)		
Said she had previously lived:					
elsewhere in Minnesota,	33%		nowhere else,	44%	
nowhere else,	33		elsewhere in Minnesota,	21	
no response,	14		outside Minnesota,	17	
or some combination of Twin Cities, elsewhere in Minnesota, and outside Minnesota	10		or no response	10	
		90%			92%
Said her best school subject was:					
reading, writing, spelling,	25%		reading, writing, spelling,	28%	
art,	23		art,	18	
physical sciences,	19		math,	15	
or social studies	12		physical sciences,	11	11
			or home economics	11	
		79%			83%
Said her worst school subject was:					
social studies,	33%		social studies,	26%	
physical sciences,	22		math,	24	
reading, writing, spelling,	19		reading, writing, spelling	23	
or math	14		or physical sciences	11	
		88%			84%

Said her parents visited the school:

never,	37%
sometimes	32
or for PTA and parent conferences,	19
	88%

for PTA and parent conferences,	55%
sometimes,	25
or never	16
	96%

Said her parents' reaction to her grades was:

bad things said,	45%
good things said,	14
noncommittal things said,	13
no response (by child),	10
or nothing said	10
	92%

good things said,	28%
bad things said,	26
noncommittal things said,	16
or both good and bad said	16
	86%

Said her parents' view on school attendance was:

to say to go,	75%
or to say nothing	16
	91%

to say to go,	57%
or to say nothing	34
	91%

Said her parents' view about school was:

to say it is good,	42%
to say it is all right,	18
to say nothing,	14
or to say it is bad	12
	86%

to say it is good,	53%
to say nothing,	16
to say it is all right,	12
or to say it is bad	11
	92%

Said she really liked a particular teacher because:

he/she was both "kind" or "nice" and helpful,	46%	he/she was both "kind" or "nice" and helpful	80%
or he/she was "kind" or "nice"	26		
	72%		

Said she really didn't like a particular teacher because:

she liked all the teachers,	42%	he/she was "mean" or "hard" and not helpful,	51%
he/she was "mean" or "hard" and not helpful,	32	she liked all teachers,	27
or he/she was "mean" or "hard",	14	or no response	11
	88%		89%

Said she felt really proud in school:

when she performed well on grades,	56%	when she performed well on grades,	60%
no response,	21	no response,	18
or when she performed well for herself	14	or when she performed well for herself	15
	91%		93%

Said she felt really bad in school:

when she did not perform well on grades,	35%	when she didn't perform well on grades,	48%
no response,	34	no response,	23
when she did not perform well for herself,	16	or when she didn't perform well for herself	18
when she did not perform well for the teacher	11		89%
	96%		

Said, when asked if other pupils ever made her feel bad at school:

no,	44%		yes,	48%	
or yes	42		or no	39	
		86%			87%

Said, when asked why she responded as she did (when asked if other pupils ever made her feel bad at school):

no response,	35%		others tease her,	34%	
others tease her,	18		no response,	32	
because of race,	18		others are friends,	14	
others are friends,	12		or because others form their own groups	11	
					91%
or because others form their own groups	10				
		93%			

Said she preferred as a friend in class:

a girl (non-relative),	72%		a girl (non-relative),	69%	
no response,	13		or no response	17	
					86%
or a boy (non-relative)	11				
		96%			

Said, when asked why she liked a certain pupil must in class:

pupil is entertaining and provides companionship,	63%		pupil is entertaining and provides companionship,	73%	
			or no response	15	
					88%
pupil provides companionship,	16				
or no response	11				
		90%			

Said, when asked who she liked a lot who is not in school:

a boy (non-relative),	48%		a boy (non-relative),	31%	
a girl (non-relative),	16		a girl (non-relative),	22	
a girl (relative),	14		no response,	16	
or no response	13		or a girl (relative)	11	
		91%			80%

Said, when asked why she liked a certain person who is not in school:

person is entertaining and provides companionship,	61%		person is entertaining and provides companionship,	47%	
or no response	22		person provides help,	21	
		83%	or no response	20	
					88%

Said, when asked when she really wanted to remain home from school:

no response,	48%		no response,	49%	
when tests are given,	19		when tests are given,	24	
or when speeches are given	18		or never wishes to stay away	10	
		85%			83%

Said, when asked what she likes to do for fun:

both group and solitary games.	47%		both group and solitary games,	59%	
group and solitary recreation, often with reading and popular music,	23		group and solitary recreation, often with reading and popular music,	21	
or group games	16		or group games	11	
		86%			91%

Said, when asked when she felt really proud at home:

no response,	46%	no response,	34%
when she does right by *herself*,	28	when she does right by *others*,	29
or when she does right by *others*	16	or when she does right by *herself*	28
	90%		91%

Said, when asked when she felt really bad at home:

no response,	40%	no response,	35%
when she does badly by *others*,	28	when she does badly by *others*,	24
when she does badly by *herself*,	14	when she does badly by *herself*,	22
or during violence (fights, spankings)	11	during violence (fights, spankings)	14
	93%		95%

Said, when asked what she wants to be now:

self ("me"),	26%	a woman,	24%
a woman,	22	no response,	22
a performer (TV, movies, radio),	17	self ("me"),	22
no response,	13	a performer (TV, movies, radio)	13
or nothing; no one; don't know	10		
	88%		81%

Said, when asked what she wants to be when she grows up:

service worker,	24%	
clerical and kindred,	22	
professional, clerical, and kindred,	19	
or school professional	10	
		75%

school professional,	23%	
clerical and kindred,	21	
professional, clerical and kindred,	18	
service worker,	15	
or nothing; no one; don't know	10	
		87%

In the final category of pupils, fifty-seven Indian girls' and 131 white girls' responses are juxtaposed. Responses followed the general tendency, unbroken except for the boys' responses for the same grade range of 10 - 12, toward similar patterns for most items on the questionnaire:

1. both said they had lived elsewhere about as often;
2. both generally liked the same subjects in the same order, except that Indian girls liked social studies (12%) and white girls liked math (15%) and home economics (11%);
3. both disliked the same subjects, although in different order;
4. the parents of Indian children far less often visited the school;
5. the Indian girls indicated more negative and noncommittal parental responses to grades;
6. the Indian girls indicated that their parents more often ordered them to attend school;
7. both indicated that their parents responded about the same (positively) to the school;
8. Indian girls far less often indicated the helpfulness (or lack of it) of a favored or disfavored teacher, and indicated to one question a greater tendency to like "all" teachers;
9. both indicated they felt proud or badly in school because of grades, although Indian girls sometimes said they felt badly (11%) when they did not perform well for the teacher;
10. both indicated other pupils had made them feel badly in

about half the cases in each category, with the Indian girls more often mentioning race as a cause (18%) and white girls mentioning teasing (34% vs. 18%);

11. both indicated a preference for girls (non-relative) as pupil friends, although some Indian girls mentioned boys (11%);
12. Indian girls stressed companionship as a friendship focus slightly more than white girls;
13. both pupil categories showed strong preferences for boys (48% I; 31% W) as out-of-school friends;
14. both indicated friendship and companionship as the reasons for out-of-school friendships (61% I; 47% W), although white girls favored "helping" responses (21%);
15. both wished to stay away from school during tests about as often (19% I; 24% W), although 10% of the white sample "never" wished to stay away, and 18% of the Indian girls wished to remain away when a speech was required;
16. both indicated roughly the same social context preferences or experiences for recreation;
17. while Indian girls were more reticent to respond, both indicated proud feelings at home accompanied fidelity to self (28% vs. 28%), while white girls more often mentioned support of others (29% W; 16% I);
18. both felt badly at home for about the same reasons, except that white girls more often mentioned lack of fidelity to self;
19. both had roughly similar responses to the question asking

what they would wish to be now, except that slightly more white girls failed to respond (22% vs. 13%), and 10% of the Indian girls did not know what they would wish to be;

20. both had roughly similar responses when asked what they would like to do as adults, except that more white girls wished to be school professionals (23% vs. 10%), and 10% of the white girls did not know what they wished to be.

7. Summaries Of Indian-White Differences In The Pupil Survey

From these comparisons of 1400 Blue Pine Indian and white boys and girls in three grade ranges, a compilation of differences between the two pupil categories may be made. Similarities are ignored in this compilation, even though they numerically outweigh differences between Blue Pine Indian and white students, because many of the differences which follow are closely related to a basic educational and cultural problem at Blue Pine: the crucial separation of Indian young people from important formal and informal aspects of the public schooling process.

INDIAN BOYS (3-6)

Parents visit schools far less often;

Reticent about teacher evaluation;

Less parental approval of s school;

Less pupil emphasis on grades;

Relatively less emphasis on instrumental school friendships;

In absences, illness more important than tests;

Fidelity to self in home setting lower;

Military leanings; blue collar and farm occupations shunned.

INDIAN GIRLS (3-6)

Parents visit schools far less often;

Reticent about teacher evaluation;

Less emphasis on teacher "helping";

Reticent about proud feelings in school;

Less emphasis on grades;

Relatively less emphasis on instrumental school friendships;

In absences, illness more important than tests;

More vocationally oriented in the "now", far less so in future;

(7-9)

Parents visit schools far less often;

Parents less enthusiastic about schools;

Less emphasis on teacher "helping";

Less emphasis by pupil on grades;

More emphasis on fidelity to self in school;

Relatively less emphasis on instrumental school friendships;

Fidelity to self in home setting lower;

(7-9)

Parents visit schools far less often;

Parents more negative toward grades;

Parents more likely to tell child to go to school;

Parents less likely to approve of school;

Less pupil emphasis on teacher "helping";

More pupil reticence about prideful feelings in school;

Less pupil emphasis on grades;

Teasing indicated as less a problem;

INDIAN BOYS (7-9)

Military leanings; blue collar and farm orientation shunned; less certainty.

(10-12)

Lived elsewhere more often;

Parents visit school far less often;

Parents far less positive and committed about schools;

Stressed fidelity to self less in proud feelings at school;

Less willing to criticize teachers, and less emphasis on teacher "helping";

Teasing less important in school;

More orientation to girls;

More violence at home, but also less indicated unhappiness;

Radically less concretized vocational perspectives.

INDIAN GIRLS (7-9)

Some avoidance of speeches;

Less emphasis on school occupational roles in future.

(10-12)

Parents visit schools far less often;

Parents more negative and noncommittal on grades;

Parents more often direct child to attend school;

Less willingness to criticize teachers, and less emphasis on teacher "helping";

Bad feelings more often because of failed school tasks;

Race a problem in school, while teasing less a problem;

Less instrumental friendship expectations;

Slightly more desire to remain away from school, especially when speeches are to be made;

More reticent about proud home feelings, and less concerned with fidelity to others;

Less emphasis on fidelity to self in negative times at home;

Somewhat more willingness to respond to questions on vocational predictions, with less emphasis on becoming school professional.

The findings of this portion of the research indicate an early detachment from the teacher on the part of Indian children. Teachers do not tend to be seen as persons assisting in a schooling process (for white children, usually characterized by the pursuit of grades), but seem to be viewed from a vast social distance. There is no comparable feeling of working camaraderie, even where Indian students profess to like all teachers. Grades, especially in the early years, are far less important to Indian children.

Parents are critical of the schools, and more noncommittal toward them. They are separated from the schools even more, perhaps, than the children, yet want their children to go to school as much or more than white parents. They are also more critical of their children's school performances.

Indian boys in the early grades show a narrow range of interest in occupational or career possibilities. The girls show a far broader range of interest, but, as will be pointed out later, rarely fulfill these interests.

These suggestive findings led to further research in the area of pupil-teacher interaction, a portion of which is reported next. The assumption behind the use of a projective test approach, which was chosen as a supplement to the pupil questionnaire, was that the questionnaire had failed to detect important feelings of hostility and aversion toward the school on the part of Indian pupils.

C. Educational and bi-cultural dissonance: the elementary children

An aspect of continuing Indian education research at Blue Pine consisted of an attempt to understand why Chippewa as opposed to white children so often learn to effectively evade formal schooling by dropping out, or by becoming non-participants in approved forms of classroom activity. It seemed that one place to look for developing distance between the formal education process and its purveyors and the Indian child--aside from within the ranks of those who had already dropped or been pushed out--was within the grade school.

In the late fall of 1966 a short (15 minute) essay was requested by classroom teachers from several hundred village Indian and bordertown white children in these schools, and in a middle-class suburban school in a nearby Minnesota city of approximately 27,000. The essay was written by all Indian children in the village elementary schools, by all white and Indian children in the border-town elementary school, and by one class each in the suburban school, grades two through six. The children wrote in response to the question, "What is School?" No personal or group assistance was given the children after this bare minimum of direction. While primary interest was in the elicited attitudes of Indian children, we supposed their responses would become more meaningful when compared with the attitudes of white children of their own ages and grades from the same regional surroundings. It was hoped, in the light of our understanding that attitudes develop, maintain, and change situationally, that responses to the essay task would provide comparative insight into the kinds of accomodative relations Blue Pine Indian children had learned to develop to the classroom. It was because of our interest in attitudes-in-situation that the projective device was administered in the course of the normal school day by an already familiar teacher.

Findings will be described by grade level for three groups of children: white children from a western Minnesota suburban school, using data from two classes per grade; white children from a reservation border community of small town size, using data from three classes per grade; and Indian children from three small Indian communities with their own elementary schools for children living nearby. Because the number of Indian children living in the northern village and bussed to the white bordertown school was small, and because we wished to hold them separate from children attending Indian elementary schools for reasons related to research assumptions, discussion of their projectives was handled separately.

Since a major concern lay in determining emerging cultural and social distance from school life and the formal education process, a primary focus in the comparative analysis of the data was upon the culturally modified ways in which Indian and white pupils expressed criticism and aversion toward aspects of the school experience.

1. Essay content analysis by grade level

A graph of the percentages of essays containing critical or aversive statements toward some aspect of school life by each of the three populations provide a ready summary of the data:

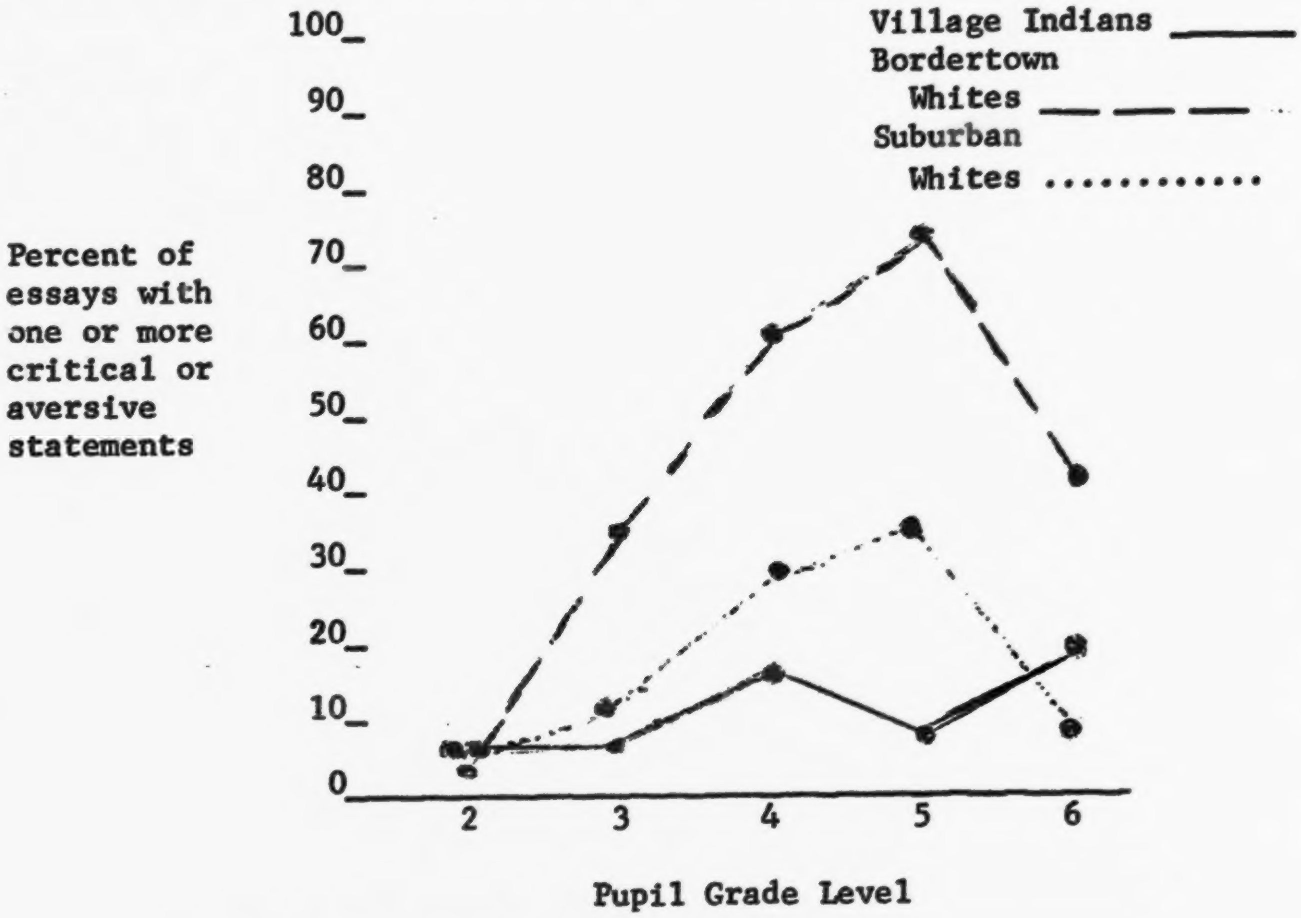

FIGURE I: CHILDREN MANIFESTING CRITICISM OR AVERSION TOWARD SOME ASPECT(S) OF SCHOOL LIFE

2. Second grade

Most of the second grade children stressed that school is a place of "work," "learning," and "play." Blue Pine Indian children from the three small reservation community schools showed no differences in this respect when compared with the two samples of white children. Many children said they like specific school subjects. Only a few stressed such advantages as warm food and rooms at school, a surprising finding in view of the harsh weather and living standards of the Reservation region, and those few were from the suburban sample. Very few showed dislike for any subject, nor did any criticism or aversion appear toward either their teachers or other aspects of school life. The most striking aspect of these positive responses toward school from white and Indian children was their similarity. Very little evidence of dislike toward any aspect of school life was found, and all three categories tended to respond quite identically in terms of written style and content. Some responses typical of the children:

> (W) It is a place where you go to work. It is where you read and write. It is where you go to learn. You sometimes eat there. You write on paper.
>
> (W) It's a place where you go to work every day at 9:00.
>
> (I) School is a place where we work and play. We do numbers and Reading and Spelling. And we do Phonics. And we draw Santas and Reindeer. And we work hard. It is fun when we get done. Some stories are funny in our book.
>
> (I) We write at school. I can read. I play at school. I work at school. I like writing.

3. Third grade

In contrast, white third graders were often not very happy with some aspect or aspects of their schools. This was true both among those going to the border school and those in the suburb. While "work," "learning," and "play" were still stressed by many, some white children were starting to isolate subjects they did not like as well as those they preferred. Some were starting to grow critical of teachers, scheduling, and even the idea of their place in the educational program:

(W-suburban) I think school is scabby. And I hate it. I do not like to be quiet. And I hate Arithmetic and I hate that kind of junk. I wish there was not any schools at all. And I do not like to walk all the time. That's what I think of school.

(W-suburban) It is a place where we work. We get yelled at. We have tests. You can't have fun or tell jokes.

(W-suburban) It is a place where you have to work. You must take only 25 minutes of gym. School isn't very good.

(W-suburban) I don't like school. Because how you have to sit all day and do tests, and work, and all that stuff. Can't play out long any more.

(W-bordertown) I don't like school. I think school is dumb. In less time than that I get sick of it. I like recess! In summer I am glad. I am glad when Spelling, Arithmetic, English, and everything is over! One thing I like about school is I like this school better than any other. I don't know any others.

(W-bordertown) I don't like school because there is too much work to do. And there is another reason. Because we have to work. And we have to walk to school. And if we are late a lot, then we get hacked. And that is it. And that is the truth.

(W-bordertown) I think school is lousy. Because you work all day. You take tests like they were bubble gum. If you talk out loud to your friends then you have to be moved sometimes. You get lousy meals. You cannot eat candy or chew gum. You get in trouble if you pass notes. School is just not made for me.

(W-bordertown) School is crazy, stupid, and dumb. I hate it and it hates me. Why I don't like it it's hard. The only parts I like are Reading, recess, and Phy-ed.

In all, about one-fourth of the white children who completed the projective test at this grade level expressed some form of criticism or dislike for something about the school. Bordertown white children were critical or expressed dislike over three times as often as the children in the suburban sample. By contrast, only a few Indian children made criticisms or expressed dislikes with anything near the intensity manifest in the common examples listed above for white children:

> (I) In school I have a lot of fun but not as much as at home. Our Christmas play is coming up soon. It is going to be in the evening on December 22. I am a singer in it. My buddy _________ is a shepherd.
>
> (I) School is nice but it is fun to work at home. Sometimes we play school at home. And sometimes we play house at home. And when we go back to school it is not fun.
>
> (I) School is fine but I don't like Math and English. But I don't like boys either. They fight us girls.

4. Fourth grade

The pattern of critical expression that developed among white children in the third grade continued into the fourth. At this level, about half of the white children made some sort of qualifying comment about school, but only about three in twenty Indian children made similar comments. In both cases, many white and Indian children continued to describe school as a place where "you work" or a place where "you learn," or both, but many cited learning experiences that did not relate directly to regular school subjects.

Feelings that were representative of the "critical" Indian fourth graders' responses, lacked feeling and specificity when compared with the responses of the white suburban children. The aversion of the white children in the border school near the Reservation was very marked, even greater than in the sample of suburban children. Altogether, about six in ten of the white fourth graders from the border school made critical or disaffected remarks about school and three in ten from the suburban school. Responses typical of non-critical children showed that they were making (or had already made) adjustments to pressures for conformity to teacher demands and to the scheduling regimen of the school. Some acceptance of the conventional, abstract values of formal education was also noticeable. Up to this level, the area white children disliked their schools, and sometimes even the idea of school, much more often than the Indian children on the Reservation. Their criticisms were especially impressive when it is considered that the schools were "designed" for them, or nominally so.

> (W-suburban) I like school very much. Because the teachers are very nice and a person can learn very much there. You get a whole hour of recess and a half an hour for Phy-ed. The Arithmetic is easy and so are the Social Studies. The price for a lunch is a little high but I guess that's just the way life is. The meals aren't always the best but the cooks are doing the best they can. I really don't think school is so bad. The school board is doing the best it can.

> (W-suburban) I like school. Because it is so small. It isn't too big for me and it isn't too small. It's just right for me.

> (W-bordertown) I think school is fun. Because we have Art, Science, English, Arithmetic, Spelling, and tests. And I like the teacher too. I like school.

And from the children from village schools:

> (I) A school is where I learn to read. A school is where I learn to write. A school is where I learn my manners. A school is a lovely place. A school is my school and everyone's. A school is where I learn. If I had no school where would I learn to read? If I had no school where would I learn to write? If I had no school where would I learn my manners?

> (I) School is what you work inside. School is where you work. Work is important to children. Children is fun in school. Children is not in school on Saturday.

Children is fun to play with. School is fun. With childrens it is fun to play.

(I) School is a place where we can learn and do Arithmetic and Spelling, and Reading, and work. We do science and English and some on the chore broom too, and we write on our desk and on the chore broom too.

5. Fifth grade

The trend that established itself at the third grade continued into the fifth grade. The suburban white and Reservation border white children continued to strike out at their schools, while, at this grade level, virtually no Indian children made critical remarks. By now, over half of the white children were in some way critical of school. Also apparent at this grade level were noticeable differences in expressive ability. The Indian children were showing signs of being generally out-classed by white children, whose compositions were becoming, on the whole, demonstrably more lucid, detailed, and grammatically correct than their Indian counterparts.

(W-bordertown) School is where I can't play whenever I want to. Where I work most of the time. Where I play with my friends. And when I'm mean I'm sent up to the principal's office.

(W-suburban) Sometimes work is easy and sometimes hard. I like my teacher this year and all the years. And I like my principal and my nurse. School can be the best place in the world. It can be the worst place too. I like Spelling and Arithmetic and English. But I hate Science And Social Studies. I like all the boys in my room and some of the girls.

In contrast, several village children:

(I) School is there. You learn how to read and write and

> spell. That's what is school. We eat at school and we play and we do other things at school. We have Art at school too. We have a Christmas Play too. That's what we do at school.

> (I) School is warm in the morning. School has warm dinners at noon time. School is a place where we learn. We have pencils, papers, and books.

> (I) School is a place where we go to learn Science, Math and other things. School is a place where it is warm. School is a place where we take a shower and go outside and play.

> (I) School means everything to me. If you liked school it would mean everything to you too. It makes you responsible for your work. To listen to the teacher and mind your manners. To finish your work and make sure it's done. Always keep your feet and hands to yourself.

6. Sixth grade

At sixth grade level the percentage of suburban white children who made critical comments about school dropped to about one in twenty. The percentage for white children in the reservation border school dropped to about four in ten. One in five of the Indian children, however, made evaluations that were considered disaffected or critical. Differences in expressive ability became more marked. In general, most white children from both suburban and reservation border schools had become observably more utilitarian in their viewpoints toward school, seeing it as necessary in various ways to "get along" for further schooling, for "success" in life, and certainly for job preparation. But, for a large minority of bordertown white children, school appeared to be a dreary duty:

> (W-bordertown) School to me is a place to learn. To play and have fun. But the only time I have fun is when we have recess and when we have parties. But it is a torture to

> me. It's the same old thing every day. I get up at seven o'clock and drag myself through the day and when it's over I'm very glad.

Yet most suburban children were ideologically committed by this time:

> (W-suburban) School is a place of knowledge. It is where we learn and we are taught. We should respect school for all it has done for us.
>
> (W-suburban) School is a place where men and women teach children Math, English (etc.). School is also a very good place to stay. Many children drop out of school at the age thirteen. I think all children should go all the way through school and get a good education.
>
> (W-suburban) School is a building where young people and adults meet and learn all there is to know about our country and everything around us. This is to help us so that we may be able to get good jobs and a good education.

Finally, some responses typical of village Indian children:

> (I) There are two classes in each room. There is a gym, a hall, two laboratories, a balcony, an office, a faculty room, four classrooms, a sick room, a kitchen, a lunch room, and a few others.
>
> (I) In our school the gym is quite big. We go play in there every day except Tuesday because we to to Church school. I like my school very much and I like all of my work. Some work is a little hard but I try.
>
> (I) I walk to school and is so cold. First we have Social and then Math and at 3:30 we go home. And on Tuesday we go to church. At 2:30 we go and come back. At 3:30 we go home.

It was apparent that the Indian children did not see school as a preparatory activity when their responses were compared with most of the suburban children and many of the border white children in the sixth grade. The ideas about school shared by Indian sixth graders were still comparatively concrete and locally specific, focused on physical surroundings and the more obvious rituals of school life. Virtually no Indian children mentioned the vocational preparation implications of their school experience, nor did any child indicate that school was a necessary evil for some greater, though abstract, good such as "success". Even the most committed of these children had come to be in tune with the requirements of school life at a comparatively mechanical level.

Several tables of the percentages of criticism or negative expression toward some aspect of school life by each of the three populations provide a ready summary:

TABLE CVII: COMPARISON OF WHITE SUBURBAN AND VILLAGE INDIAN PUPILS' CRITICISMS OR DISLIKES OF SOME ASPECT(S) OF SCHOOL LIFE

		White Suburban Pupils	Village Indian Pupils
Grade Level	2	5%	5%
	3	10%	5%
	4	30%	15%
	5	35%	8%
	6	7%	20%

TABLE CVIII: COMPARISON OF WHITE BORDERTOWN AND VILLAGE INDIAN PUPILS' CRITICISMS OR DISLIKES OF SOME ASPECT(S) OF SCHOOL LIFE

		White Bordertown Pupils	Village Indian Pupils
Grade Level	2	3%	5%
	3	34%	5%
	4	61%	15%
	5	71%	8%
	6	40%	20%

TABLE CIX: COMPARISONS OF SUBURBAN AND BORDERTOWN WHITE AND VILLAGE INDIAN PUPILS' CRITICISMS OR DISLIKES OF SOME ASPECT(S) OF SCHOOL LIFE

		Bordertown and Suburban Whites	Village Indian Pupils
Grade Level	2	4%	5%
	3	22%	5%
	4	46%	15%
	5	58%	8%
	6	24%	20%

TABLE CX: COMPARISONS OF WHITE SUBURBAN AND BORDERTOWN PUPILS' CRITICISMS OR DISLIKES OF SOME ASPECT(S) OF SCHOOL LIFE

		White Suburban	White Bordertown
Grade Level	2	5%	3%
	3	10%	34%
	4	30%	61%
	5	35%	71%
	6	7%	40%

7. Accomodating bicultural classrooms

While aversion or criticism are indicators of one kind of negative involvement with aspects of school life for white children, the comparative lack of such feelings by very many Indian children supported the impression from classroom observations that Chippewa children learn to minimize stressful contacts with school personnel and with the initially foreign meanings of school life in different accomodative ways than white children.

The Indian child in a village school learns to see the school as run by authoritative white adults who are symbolic of a racial and cultural system of delineations he has come to know in various ways since birth. His learned mode of adjustment to them and to the regimen of the school is consistent with the general response patterns of most Blue Pine Chippewa adults when under cross-cultural stress. With others, they form an accomodating, uncommunicative front that will help them get by with a minimum of day-to-day conflict and difficulty in their dealings with whites. Teachers and other staff members in schools where young Indian children are in the majority subtly promote and encourage this reactive process, so that classrooms are typically filled with children who have been taught to limit their interaction with teachers to broad, ritual observances, most of them in support of a paramilitary authority structure. They learn from older children, parents, peers, and personal experience that mutual adjustments between pupil collectives and teachers "work," especially from the all-important standpoint of classroom "discipline." But the prospect of gradually improving cross-cultural communication between teachers and students grows dimmer as these insulated cultural representatives become more adept at defining and remaining within the prescribed boundaries of a bare minimum of interaction. Eventually, such accomodations lead to a network of interlocking, self-imposed limitations that preserve the form of schooling but severely limit its content. Informal schoolroom interaction, or what Jules Henry calls classroom "noise," is both diminished and altered. One result of these modifications is that Indian children "learn" from the classroom experience qualitatively different things than do white children. White children are also hurt by separation from teachers arising from much the same process described above, but Indian children are hurt more. The sealing-off process is so much more complete for them that breaking out later on, even if desired, becomes an almost insurmountable task.

White elementary children can learn to criticize a system of formal education, because in some ways they initially and subsequently are related to it in crucially different ways than the Indian child. The village Indian elementary child apparently is never allowed to become an integral part of the system in the ways white children are, even though white children are objectively fairly powerless and in a low status position themselves.

8. Essays of Indian transfer children

In the case of village elementary students transferred two years ago to the bordertown elementary school north of the Reservation, essay analysis showed patterns of criticism and aversion toward aspects of school life very much like those of white classmates. While it is too early to draw conclusions from this evidence, in part because of comparatively small numbers at each grade level, a possible tentative interpretation is that peer group accomodation with school staff has been disrupted or given little chance to develop in ways typical of the village classrooms. Indian pupils may be learning to adopt some of the ways of their white classmates, and they may also be learning a different type of reaction to the bordertown classroom because of qualitatively different teacher "noise." Peer-related insularity from the school staff as a way of dealing with the stresses of the classroom does not seem to be developing as it has in the village schools, as Table I suggests.

TABLE CXI: VILLAGE INDIAN CHILDREN IN A BORDERTOWN SCHOOL MANIFESTING CRITICISM AND NON-CRITICISM OF SOME ASPECT(S) OF SCHOOL LIFE

Grade Level	Numbers Critical or Hostile	Numbers With No Evidence of Negative Feeling
2	1	4
3	8	4
4	3	4
5	4	0
6	0	10

Perhaps it would be instructive to allow one Indian girl to describe her reactions to school life at this point. While her comments are typical of other Indian children's comments in the bordertown school, and comparable with those of white children in the same school, they are very different in tone and specificity when compared with the comments of Indian children attending village elementary schools:

> In the morning I hate to get up and get ready to go to school. Mostly every day the teacher is crabby. I hate school. I never get sent to the principal. Sometimes I don't like the food we eat very good. But I do like Art, and to go to the library and have parties. So that's the way school is.

It is apparent that this child's perception of school life and her feelings about it are responses of the type we have typically found among white children. Perhaps it is reasonable to assume that the school experience has been qualitatively different in the white-majority bordertown classroom than for her equivalents in the Indian village schools. The increased frequency of criticism or disaffection in these remarks and in others like them from Indian children bussed to the bordertown white school may indicate that these children are engaging in a qualitatively different form of accomodation to school life than their village Indian counterparts. It is probably too early to tell what the actual properties of such a new or different mode of interaction might be in this particular school system, or what social and academic meanings a different but apparently more "white" accomodation pattern might eventually have.

9. The neglected humanity of children

A significant factor associated with the dynamics of Blue Pine Reservation schools has been the persistent tendency of white educators to overwhelmingly deny the value of Indian culture in the classroom, and in the next ideological breath to praise the notion of positive individual attention to "different" or "culturally deprived" children. But even the casual observer quickly learns that school personnel have little time or appropriate training for individual attention to uncooperative or different white children, let alone for Indian children with an alien cultural heritage. It is apparently incumbent upon all little children, both white and Indian, to learn to adjust in approved ways to the drill and authority of the school. Within the framework of a lower-middle class value structure, the Blue Pine and regional schools set out to make certain that children will not be troublesomely different, even if, as in the case of Indian children in the Reservation village schools, this means they will be effectively walled away from interaction with the staff. But it is difficult to doubt that it is the Indian child who suffers most from this process, because it is so much more complete for him. The Indian child's comparative absence of criticism or aversion toward the school becomes understandable as a function of a general insularity resulting from culture contact problems, but which is "taught" and learned with devastating thoroughness in the accomodative bicultural classroom.

The projective analyses, then, corroborate the findings of that portion of the research which employed a pupil questionnaire, comparatively analyzed the Indian and white pupils' responses, and determined that separation from formal and informal aspects of the schooling process was a great problem for Indian children. Also confirmed and better understood are the lower levels of aversive, critical, or alienated responses to the school on the part of Blue Pine Indian children.

C. Characteristics of the young people: more dissonance

The Community Action Program (CAP) at the Blue Pine Reservation has been in contact with a number of Chippewa boys and girls who have left school. The Reservation's Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) activity, an aspect of the local CAP, has itself suffered from the tendency of these ex-students to drop out. Of the first sixteen enrollees, eight were dropouts at the time we interviewed the NYC director, some several months after the start of the program. "Indifference" was the word used by the director to refer to most of the young peoples' attitudes, including not only the dropouts but some youngsters who were barely hanging onto their NYC positions. The director, a sensitive man with wide regional school experience and a working knowledge of Blue Pine's people and culture, described most NYC youths as prone to absenteeism, tardiness, and poor job performance, but added that a few were doing well in their part-time jobs and that five young people had been hired in regular jobs after their NYC experience.

Early in the project, we were allowed to view the applications of all sixteen of the Blue Pine Chippewa youngsters who had been associated with the Reservation NYC program. All of those boys and girls had had some schooling in one of the four bordertown high schools prior to leaving formal education. About half of them (seven) left school for academic reasons, while five of the girls became pregnant as students and were forced to terminate. Two were dropped for disciplinary reasons, and two more left because they felt uncomfortable in their inadequate clothing. The number of years of formal education completed by the ex-students prior to termination of their academic experience broke down as follows:

TABLE CXII: YEARS OF SCHOOLING OF N.Y.C. APPLICANTS

Grade Level	Number of Young People
7	2
8	6
9	2
10	4
11	2
	16

Blue Pine is a relatively acculturated reservation in certain respects, including the almost exclusive use of English as the functional language. Fifteen of the dropouts came from families where only English was spoken, and one came from a household where Chippewa was sometimes used by older persons as a second language. None of the dropouts spoke Chippewa themselves. Only two applicants came from homes where family income was above $2,000, but no applicant came from a home where the income was above $3,000. The distribution of family income for the other fourteen young people showed that six were below $1,000 and eight between $1,000 and $2,000 per year. Half of the youths came from families where the head of the house was not working. Ten were from homes housing six or more persons, and in two cases ten persons were living under the same roof. When the calibre of housing typical of Blue Pine is considered in terms of these numbers, the likelihood of severe crowding becomes impressive. Six youngsters still did not know what kind of work they wanted to go into at the time of their application to N.Y.C., and the others named clerical, nursing, and operative occupations as their eventual goals.

1. Dropout interviews

During the late fall of 1966 a questionnaire was administered by Indian interviewers to twenty-seven high school dropouts, some of them enrolled in the Neighborhood Youth Corps program. All of the young people lived in homes on the Reservation, primarily in the villages. The interviewers lived in the same communities, and were from the same general socio-economic background. Even though the interviewers knew each dropout personally, they reported difficulty getting these young people to speak about their school experiences. "I guess it's so bad they just don't want to talk about it," said one of the interviewers, an active older woman with some children of her own who did not finish high school. Eight questions were asked of the dropouts, of whom nine were boys and eighteen were girls. The questions were open-ended, and it was optional with the respondent whether he or she cared to fill out the forms personally or dictate to the Indian interviewer.

The first question asked whether the ex-students, when they were attending school, had had anything happen to them that was unpleasant or may have discouraged them; something that they wouldn't like to have happen to their children. Four of the nine boys in the sample answered this question positively, but only two could give reasons about why they felt discouraged or upset by something unpleasant. One made reference to "the principal," and the other remarked, "(I) just didn't fit in. I felt I was out of place." Ten of the eighteen girls in the sample answered positively, and eight of these gave reasons. None of these young people whose recollections follow gave direct reference to white schoolmates as the source of demoralizing teasing or negative references to dress, a commonly heard complaint and reason for dropping out, but it is unlikely that they were referring to their Indian classmates, nearly all of whom dress with about the same relative shabbiness compared with most of the white young people in the high schools. In addition to such status indicators as clothes, important in a general way to school life, these girls also made reference to poor grades and poor relations with teachers as important problems for them while they were in school:

> The teachers were mean, and the children liked to tease and make fun of the clothes you wore.
>
> I didn't have much clothes.
>
> The disrespectfulness toward each other's property (clothes, personal belongings, and general persons), and the belittling of one another.
>
> I hope my children have better grades than me.
>
> My grades were low. I hope that doesn't happen to my children.
>
> I had discouragements and I wouldn't like to have my children have things like that happen to them.
>
> The teachers were mean and the children liked to tease and make fun of the clothes you wore.

The second question in the open-ended series asked whether anything had happened to them in school that they liked, that encouraged them, or something they would like to have happen to their children. Five of the nine boys cited something about school in answer to this question, four of which were in some way positive. The fifth boy said, "If there was anything good about the school

I'd never have quit." Two of the others mentioned sports as a rewarding part of their school experience, and one seemed to feel unhappy about his choice to quit:

> I realize now that when I went to school I should have stayed until I knew some trade. So I'd like to have my kids learn something.

Eleven of the eighteen girls answered affirmatively in some way to this question, and some said they had received helpful assistance from some of their teachers:

> Teachers tried to help.
>
> Special attention shown by some teachers toward their classes and genuine feeling of being wanted to learn.
>
> Yes, the teachers were fairly nice and the work wasn't hard.
>
> Couple of nice teachers.
>
> I really had a wonderful two years of school which I really miss. I hope my children get a real education which they need and at the same time get some enjoyment out of it.
>
> I would of liked to finished school but I had a child.

Each of the twenty-seven dropouts was asked whether he or she thought that their children would get better jobs if they finished high school. There was no indication among the responses from these young people that they had failed to grasp the economic importance of successful experiences with the system of formal education. Every one of the male dropouts answered yes to this question, and one added, "If the teachers were not prejudiced." Similarly, every female dropout said yes, and a few went on:

> Yes, therefore I'm encouraging my childfen to finish school.'
>
> Definitely. High school is only the first step toward a special career.
>
> Yes, and they may need a college education.
>
> Yes, because nowadays it takes a high school education to get a good job.

The interviewers asked, "Have you ever wished you could go back to school? What kind of job would you prepare for? What kind of schooling do you want?" All eighteen of the girls said they wished they had gone back to school. All but four said they wanted to be practical nurses, registered nurses, beauticians, office girls or secretaries. One said she wanted to develop a skill for "use in later life." Seven of the nine young men answered yes in some way to this question. One of the other two was not certain he wanted to go back, and the other answered, "I never wished to go back to school." The others stated what they would hope to gain from going back:

> I like to be a game warden.
>
> I could go back to school and study Mechanic. Trade school is needed.
>
> Anything. High school.
>
> Mechanics.

Three of the nine boys answered no to the question, "Was anyone upset when you dropped out of school? What happened?" Three of the remaining six said their parents or brothers and sisters had become upset over their dropping out. Eight of the girls said no one became upset when they dropped out, and five of the remaining ten said their parents or other relatives were disturbed by their dropping out. One of these girls said the teachers in her school were also unhappy with her decision. Only one boy indicated that others had tried to get him to go back to school. He identified these interested persons as his parents. Three of the girls in the sample indicated that their parents had tried to talk them into going back to school, but the others strongly indicated they became fairly much on their own after deciding to quit, either through social circumstances, personal preference, or both:

> I was ill most of the time and the assistant principal didn't believe me so I quit.
>
> I became a mother.
>
> I quit when they (parents) got mad.
>
> I got married and started a family at 17.
>
> I had a child.
>
> I couldn't get along.
>
> I couldn't go back right away.

"Did you ever quit school and then go back? If yes, what happened?" Four of the male dropouts quit and never went back, but the others told of how they came to have multiple experiences with dropping out:

> Yes. They wanted to keep me in the same grade.
>
> I went back three time.
>
> I went back, but I just got tired of school.

> They tried to get me back. I quit and went back
> but I became 16 years and decided to quit, because
> the teachers never gave me time to do my work.

Five of the eighteen girls went back to school after quitting. Four of them say:

> Last year I went back in the fall and quit again.
>
> I went back, but I still couldn't make it.
>
> I went back after I had the child.
>
> After marriage, I went back.

The final question was perhaps the most important of the eight. It asked, "When you finally quit school, what led you to quit?" All nine of the males in the sample gave reasons for wanting to quit. Of these, only two indicated specific displeasure with teachers ("I didn't like them") or with school ("I didn't like it"). The others gave varying reasons for quitting:

> I just wanted to.
>
> No transportation to and from high school, which was
> 22 miles from home.
>
> Reading problem.
>
> I just didn't care.
>
> I was 21 years old so I quit.
>
> I didn't want to stay in the same grade.
>
> I couldn't be quiet.

Sixteen of the eighteen girls in the sample gave some reason for quitting school. Seven of these referred in some way to pregnancy; in one case rather obliquely ("I was in my third month of motherhood").

The other nine commented variously:

> I took half 11th grade subjects and half 12th grade subjects.
>
> I was needed at home and got behind in my work.
>
> Lacking a subject in the 12th grade.
>
> Because of a death in our family. My aunt left a small baby for my grandmother to care for so I had no choice but to help my grandmother.
>
> Nothing.
>
> Got in a fight with Mrs. ________ for chewing gum.
>
> No clothes.
>
> Because I didn't like school.
>
> I just couldn't catch on to it.

The responses of these girls indicate how vulnerable their formal education careers are to pregnancy, but the variety of other reasons for quitting school demonstrate how varied forces can team up to minimize the chances for success of Indian children in high school.

2. The neglected humanity of young people

Analysis of the content of the questionnaires suggests that making contact with school in a meaningful way is a basic problem with Blue Pine children. A wistful, poignant quality pervades their responses to the questions we asked about their school experiences, and as we found to be the case with the vast majority of children in the lower grades on and near Blue Pine, there are few cases of anger or hostility toward the school.

Blue Pine youngsters who drop out of school are doing the normal thing for their communities in response to the stresses imposed by attending classes in high school and junior high school in border towns where they are in a minority position vis-a-vis their white classmates. Until they enter these schools, they attend village elementary schools where a white boy or girl is only occasionally a classmate. The kinds of relationships they learn to establish to teachers, school chums, and the one-classroom regimen of these schools contrasts sharply with the hustle and bustle of bordertown high schools that require a change of classrooms and classmates every hour. The long years of attending school with the same faces and with the same useful ways of helping to control the stresses of school life serve little purpose when the transfer to a bordertown school occurs. Indeed, these accomodative patterns are actually debilitative in the bordertown school, though they may have served well enough for the village elementary school: teachers have different expectations than these village children have been used to encountering; the breakup of the supportive group is not countered by the creation of a new one; academic failure becomes an immediate threat; and strange, new white faces seem to radiate distaste and annoyance toward them.

Because of restricted forms of relationships Blue Pine children learn to develop to the public schools in their village communities, their reaction to transfer to a bordertown school sometimes takes the extreme form of trauma. Eventually, this terror subsides into a kind of permanent, visible uneasiness and frozen, inarticulate social and academic incapacity. Most of these students are permanently sealed off from the possibility of a school experience that would give them a measure of academic prowess and self-esteem. By learning to relate to white village elementary school teachers in ways patterned after Blue Pine adult responses to white pressure, through the consequences of interaction with school personnel who informally teach these patterns, and through learning from older students and parents, these young people become in many ways young adults before their time. The decrease of human contact that results from the processes of the accommodative bicultural classroom, and the cumulative effect of countless informal indications of personal, cultural, and racial inferiority serve to create students who are irrelevant to the classroom. It is then little wonder that these Chippewa men and women, among white boys and girls still in adolescence, would find formal schooling in the bordertown not only upsetting and strange, but usually irrelevant from their own standpoints.

Yet these feelings of irrelevancy cannot erase the overwhelming impression that Chippewa young people who once left school have sought out ways to return. As we have seen, some have even gone back several times and suffered multiple defeats in the schools. Indian young people also fully support the ideology of formal education and realize the crucial relationship between satisfactory completion of formal education hurdles and the strengthened likelihood of success in the world of work. But despite these understandings and commitments, school doesn't work for most Blue Pine young people.

The question of return to schooling for Indian youngsters is complicated by the very nature of those schools. Many, not just Indians, must seriously doubt the usefulness of well-meant "drop-in" programs that only serve to readmit former students to defeating circumstances. Add to this the multiple humiliating abasement rites the student must endure upon his re-entry, and the situation looks even more bleak.

The same unchanged schools will not do with former rejectees and opt-outs what they cannot do very well even for those few Indian young people who persist and manage to graduate.

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PUBLIC EDUCATION ON A MINNESOTA CHIPPEWA RESERVATION

VOLUME 3

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Public Education On A Minnesota Chippewa Reservation

Final Report
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By
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Conducted
By
Arthur M. Harkins

Under The Supervision
Of
Professor Rosalie H. Wax

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VIII. An Overview Of The Research

A. A brief restatement of research objectives, with an introduction to the findings

The research at the Blue Pine reservation was designed to acquire more complete knowledge about cultural disjunctions between aspects of school systems and aspects of community. In order to properly attempt to find answers to the question "what does school mean in the lives of Indian children attending public institutions?", gaps in knowledge about the cultural characteristics of Blue Pine schools and communities were narrowed by the research project. The following perspectives were employed: (1) the folk-urban continuum of cultural characteristics and social structure; (2) the notions of community as a socio-cultural system and school as a socio-cultural system (or institution); (3) the structural-functional approach to the comparative analysis of community and educational institutions; (4) the problems of relationships with minorities in the light of the national society and its educational goals; (5) the folk society and its internal characteristics, as related to contact with technocratic societies.

1. The first perspective

The White Earth Indian population is further along the folk-urban continuum of cultural characteristics and social structure than, for example, the Pine Ridge country Indians studied by the Waxes. Indeed, these Indians appear in many respects, as the data have shown, to be much like the poor white population of the surrounding countryside. These similarities are not limited to socio-economic indices, but are also present in basic attitudes toward formal education. In addition, the data collected in this project on Indian parents and white parents, as well as Indian village dwellers and white town dwellers, raise questions about the definitions, cultural and socio-economic, of the contemporary Blue Pine Chippewa Indian. Much of the scientific literature of the past does not seem to be applicable today for adequately understanding these contemporary Indians and their relationship to the population that surrounds them.

2. The second perspective

Employing the notions of community as a socio-cultural system, and school as a socio-cultural system or institution, we have seen through attitudinal data that basic attitudes toward eight community areas are in most cases quite different for village Indian parents when compared with white parents living in Blue Pine border towns. We have seen that, whether attitudes are negative or positive, the two types of community are indeed measurably different. We have also seen, in spite of basically similar attitudes toward formal education on the part of Indian village parents and bordertown white parents, that attitudes towards the schools as such are quite different. We have seen this both from the data obtained from the two categories of parents as well as the data obtained from the two categories of pupils.

3. The third perspective

The research employed the structural-functional approach to the comparative analysis of community and educational institutions. The data suggest, as we will amplify further in a later section, that the schools serve best the local white population and serve far less well the local Indian population. However, we have also observed that the schools in many respects do not adequately serve the local white population itself. In spite of the fact that Indian parents pay strong verbal service to the value of formal education for themselves and their children, it is apparent that these schools do not serve the ideological interests of the Indian parents in productive ways.

4. The fourth perspective

The problems of relationships with minorities in the light of the national society and its educational goals was the concern of the fourth perspective. We will attempt to show in the analysis which follows that, while high drop-out rates and other data suggest that Blue Pine schools do not adequately serve Indian children and parents, the real problems of the schools and the Indian community are not so much concerned with "basic" cultural differences, but rather with the failure of the schools to impart skills to Indian children and parents which are not usually thought appropriate to the normal curriculum.

5. The fifth perspective

This perspective was concerned with the folk society and its internal characteristics, as related to contact with technocratic societies. The position paper, which appeared in an earlier section of this report, portrayed Blue Pine as a modern species of the Indian folk society, ill-fitted to deal adequately with certain cross-cultural contact problems. Among the gamut of cross-cultural contact problems, of course, are those concerned with public schooling.

The lack of solidarity at Blue Pine, and other problems already referred to, have placed Blue Pine communities in a passive and a largely uncontributive posture in relation to the schools. As in the case of the other perspectives outlined above, the implications of this relationship will be discussed further in a later section.

B. Research hypotheses

Six hypotheses formed a framework for initial research activities. These were identical to hypotheses formulated by the Waxes, with occasional minor modifications, and were employed in essentially unmodified states throughout the research.

1. The first hypothesis

> Village Indian adults are isolated from the schools which their children attend. They visit schools seldom, are ignorant of the curricular work in progress, are troubled by the relationship of their children to the school. Most have little influence on the conduct of the school and they do not attempt to exercise much influence.

The data from this project show that the first hypothesis is validated at the Blue Pine Reservation. Indian people are troubled by the relationship of their children to Blue Pine schools, and ignorant of the operating mechanics of the schools. Most have little or no influence on the conduct of the school, even though, in some cases to be described later, some parents actually attempt to exercise influence. In most cases, these attempts cause distractions on the part of educators, but make no real changes in the operations of the schools.

2. The second hypothesis

> Educators are ignorant of the cultural peculiarities and domestic existence of their village Indian pupils and interpret their behavior from within their own cultural framework, thus regarding their pupils as "culturally deprived". Many posit qualities to the Indian population that seem to "explain" why the task of educating the children is difficult.

The data from this project show that educators do, in fact, know little of Indian life at Blue Pine and do interpret the life styles of Blue Pine people under the cultural deprivation ideology. As we will describe later, the employment of the cultural deprivation ideology often acts as a convenient rationale for dismissing painfully disturbing failures of the schools, themselves. But this same borrowed rationale is also used by some Indian parents to explain their children's failures in school.

3. The third hypothesis

> Village Indian pupils form strong peer societies, distinct from the control of their Indian elders or white educators, and coalesced about values and practices which are indifferent to those of the schooling process. These peer societies are stronger where more whites are fellow-classmates.

The project data do not support the hypothesis as stated. In a later section, elements of the third hypothesis will be examined, one by one, in light of findings which tend to show that strong peer societies do not form among Indian children at Blue Pine in ways that serve to actively disrupt the functions of the school. A different situation obtains, and it shall be discussed shortly.

4. The fourth hypothesis

> The perspective of village Indian adults toward the national society and the role of education therein differs

> from that of the urban middle class and reflects the particular values and ethos of their own existence. The village Indian values toward education come closer to those of lower- or lower-middle class national society than more traditionalistic Indians.

The data from this project show that the basic educational perspectives of village Indian adults reflects the perspectives of the surrounding white society. That white society is, of course, reflective in many ways of dominant attitudes in the larger middle-class society. As we shall attempt to show, the data are not adequate to specifically deal with all elements of the hypothesis, but are sufficient to point to a cross-cultural closure of basic educational values. These values appear to operate on a regional basis. But the data also show that differences in attitudes do exist between village Indian parents and bordertown white parents regarding the Blue Pine schools as such, and also that differences do exist, though they are not as great as were expected, between the village Indian and bordertown white students regarding these schools. A most interesting finding is that the differences in attitudes toward education actually seem to be stronger on the part of Indian students than their parents. This inference requires amplification, and will be treated in a later section.

5. The fifth hypothesis

> Village Indian adults, including most of those who are members of school boards, have little knowledge of the bureaucratic, intellectual, and economic functions of the school, and so act primarily as local legitimating committees for state authorities.

The data from the survey portion of the research do not adequately deal with this hypothesis, particularly where school board members are concerned. The data do suggest that most village Indian adults have little effective knowledge of school functions from any perspective, and on most levels. But as we will later demonstrate through ethnographic data, the Indian school board member is not so often in such a position of ignorance and, hence, powerlessness vis-a-vis the school. Some village school board members, on the contrary, are very knowledgeable about the school. This should not lead automatically to the assumption, however, that this knowledge necessarily means a more effective participation on the part of the school board member in the operations of the school, nor should it necessarily suggest that this knowledge puts the school board member in a particularly favorable light vis-a-vis either school personnel or other school board members. But the data do indicate that, in all but a few individual cases, school board members do act primarily as rubber-stamp boards for state authorities.

6. The sixth hypothesis

> There are perceptible differences in standards for judging the academic performance of Indian children where they are in the majority instead of the minority in the classroom. Specifically, it is easier for them to move through the educational course in the first case than in the second, because different expectations are held for them by teachers and administrators. Even in the second case, there may be lowered standards for Indian children who exhibit some indication of future academic promise, or whose demeanor approximates that which the teacher feels to be correct for a properly-aculturating Indian child.

The data from the survey portion of the project suggest strongly that there are palpable differences in standards for judging the performance of Indian children in the village school classroom. But, as the data show, the differences in standards are not simply related to academic matters, nor are the judgements in academic areas necessarily the most important. There is ample ethnographic evidence to support the survey data, which indicated that a mutually satisfactory reapproachment is worked out between Indian children and white teachers in the classroom. This accommodation not only means that academic standards may be altered, but also that other informal or non-curricular expectations will be altered, usually with devastating results to the Indian child.

C. Major findings and their implications

1. The importance of four central cross-cultural themes

Four important themes characterize much of the interrelationships between Indian people and white people at the Blue Pine Reservation. These themes are very likely not particular to Blue Pine, but are probably basic interaction phenomena that characterize many reservations, and, no doubt, many other situations of interaction between minority groups and the larger American society. The four themes are:

a. White and Indian racism;
b. Deficient communications structures (and the rareness of candor);
c. Uninformed and ineffectual Indian and school personnel leadership;
d. The absence of essential cosmopolitanism.

2. White and Indian racism

The first central theme is concerned with racism, both white and Indian. It is easy for the social scientist to observe white behavior at Blue Pine toward Indian people and concede that many of these white people exhibit racist qualities. But racism takes many forms, and almost always operates in at least two directions. Certainly, many Indian people have what could legitimately be termed racist attitudes toward Blue Pine white people -- the second basic racist vector at the Reservation.

Yet white people are themselves strongly aware of cultural differences, supposed or real, related to their own European points of origin. Indian people are aware, similarly, of different ways of life that characterize different villages from their own on Blue Pine, and different reservations in the state. But for neither of the two categories of Blue Pine residents are the last two examples legitimately placed under the category of race-oriented interaction. It is a fact that many white people possess racist attitudes toward Indians, but it is also a fact that many Indians are racist in orientation to some members of their own culture. Often, the indicator for racist designations is the same in both groups: skin tone. But social class also operates in many ways to determine, along with skin color, what position a person will occupy in the prestige continuum of either the Indian population or the white population. In a larger framework, there is a prestige continuum that cuts across both populations, and which features, even at the upper portion of the continuum, a few Indian persons and families. Some white people are also at the bottom of this larger prestige continuum, composed of members of both cultures. On the whole, of course, Indian persons are massively loaded toward the bottom portion of the larger Blue Pine hierarchical structure.

The white population, as we have said, has a class structure.

The Indian population has a separate class structure as well, but it is complicated, in ways not typical of the white system of rating and ranking, by symbols of race, particularly by skin color. The designation "black Indian" was not apparently a white invention; the designation "white Indian" does not, similarly, seem to be a white invention. But both these designators are used freely in the Indian population to denote members of village populations distinguished by certain socio-economic class attributes and, almost invariably, tones of skin color. Therefore, in one village, it is not surprising to find an entire section of the community referred to as ______ville, where the so-called "black Indians" live. It is not white people who make these observations about village community demography, but Indians themselves, chiefly those better off in socio-economic terms. And those who are better off in socio-economic terms are nearly always those with lighter skin tone.

Both Indian and white populations at the Blue Pine Reservation dislike black people intensely. It is ironic that the most virulent comments about Negro people, particularly about their current choices of social action tactics, come from the residents of village Indian communities who fall toward the end of the socio-economic and race hierarchy. These "black Indians" are persons who can say, with conviction, that "Martin Luther Coon and his goddamn demonstrations" will get the Negro people "noplace", and are certainly not the tactics that have been or will be employed by "the Indian people".

The racist vectors, then, of the Blue Pine Reservation operate in their simplest dynamics in two basic ways: from white to Indian and from Indian to white. But, at least within the Indian population, there are also racist judgements being made, and it is probable that some racist judgements, in addition to the cultural judgements referred to above, are being made in the white community. For example, it is common to hear "bohemians" talked about by certain white people as though they were racially different, and in many ways, naturally inferior people. Yet, these "bohemians" are still members of the dominant society vis-a-vis the bottom-status Blue Pine Indians.

3. Deficient communications structures (and the rareness of candor)

The second central cross-cultural theme operating at Blue Pine is characterized by deficient communications structures (and the rareness of candor). It is difficult for Indians and whites to find acceptable forms through which to communicate with each other. When Indians and whites do come into contact, as in the case of nominally cooperative work concerned with the Community Action Program, there is often a tendency on the part of persons in both populations to conceal their interests from the "other side", or to distort them. In the case of Indian people, the situation is more complicated because they are often simultaneously engaged in collective and individual information screening processes on their own "side". As the position paper pointed out, and as the introduction to Blue Pine history and culture pointed out, these dynamics of interaction within the Indian population are not themselves unusual. But, in the presence of white folk, these Indian cultural characteristics combine with a natural fear and suspicion of white people, and the net result is often very disappointing to all concerned. One gets the impression that, in many cases, Indian leaders particularly wish that the situation were less complicated, so that through contacts such as the one mentioned something positive could be accomplished.

4. Uninformed and ineffectual Indian and school personnel leadership

The third central cross-cultural theme is concerned with uninformed and ineffectual Indian and school personnel leadership. We have suggested that Indian leadership is often crippled by problems of both inter- and intracultural communication. We do not wish to imply that white people always agree among themselves, or that they do not have problems of communication with minority people, such as Blue Pine Indians, that are a function of anglo cultural factors. But, it does seem to be the case that Blue Pine Indian people, for various historical and cultural reasons, have a greater problem communicating among themselves and with members of the dominant society.

The assertion that Indian and school leadership are uninformed should not make the suggestion or the assertion that these leadership groups are also ineffectual very surprising. Indian leadership is uninformed, typically, of the operating context of school personnel, and the particular problems of these personnel within their own bureaucratic settings. School personnel, on the other hand, are abysmally ignorant of both the local, contemporary Indian culture, and the operating contexts and problems of Indian leadership. This may lead school personnel, for example, to expect far more of Indian leadership than they might after only a minimum sensitization to the operating problems of that leadership. Similarly, Indian leadership seems often to expect that school functionaries can behave as though they were the equivalent of board members in a corporation, or at least of high-ranking executive status, and were thereby able to meet Indian suggestions or demands through the simple matter of commanding change by fiat. Their world as functionaries in a civil service setting is simply not structured for this kind of response.

5. The absence of essential cosmopolitanism

The fourth central cross-cultural theme was concerned with the absence of essential cosmopolitanism. This, perhaps, is the most important theme of all. We have said that parochialism may be characteristic of people even at the upper middle class level of Anglo-American life; but it is also a functioning characteristic of both Blue Pine Indian and Blue Pine white populations. By cosmopolitanism, we mean the ability to recognize a broader spectrum of human cultures or life styles, and to utilize this knowledge in the exigencies of a particular cross-cultural contact situation with the grace and intelligence that helps put all concerned at ease, and allows them to operate as smoothly as possible under the circumstances. But at Blue Pine, what typically passes for cosmopolitanism, whether in the classroom or in the cross-cultural meeting situation that we have been using as an example, is a kind of frozen, ritual politeness. This unempathic, insensitive (but protective)response to threatening people serves to create a body of learnable tact that essentially institutionalizes deficient and distorting communications patterns. As we have suggested, parochialism is not the province of minority people alone, or lower or working class people alone, but may also operate at high status levels in the dominant socio-economic structure. In the case of Blue Pine Reservation, where a definite hierarchical relationship obtains between white people and Indians, the general rise of expertise born of conflict-avoiding ritual serves to petrify status relationships. For this situation to change, a new etiquette system must evolve based on different expectations.

D. Support and non-support of the schools

1. The unspectacularly negative quality of the schools

All the categories of Indian and white people dealt with in this research offer in some instances support for various functions of the schools and non-support in others. In some cases, there is indifference. Support, non-support, and indifference are exhibited by teachers, administrators, white and Indian parents, white and Indian school children, and both Indian and non-Indian adults without children in school.

Within the village schools, problems of communication based upon white and Indian racist attitudes result in qualified knowledge of the school by Indian children, qualified knowledge of Indian children by teachers, and qualified knowledge of both teachers and children by the parents. The school as an institution and a process thereby becomes difficult to understand for teachers as well.

Teachers who are unable or unwilling to understand their students certainly will not know the communities those students come from, but they will not know the school itself as well as they might, either, for not knowing one's students or their communities means that one will not know how those children *should* fit into the school. All that village school teachers at Blue Pine really know about their Indian pupils is not very much; really, it is less than they know about the parents of those children. The system of etiquette, seen as necessary for mutual survival in the school system, prevents an increase in the mutual level of knowledge. This means that the teachers do not know their own schools, as the pupils do not know these schools. The lack of teacher comfort in the schools is apparent to the observer when he watches them awkwardly herding children in the hallways or monitoring them in the classrooms. In the bordertown schools, white teachers seem to feel more at ease in the buildings, handling the children, and interacting among themselves. The anomie and anomia that prevail in the village schools do not appear to be as strong in the bordertown schools, because teachers, pupils, administrators, and parents there are less mysterious to one another. The school is thereby better known, and a more comfortable place to be.

Perhaps the most noticeable indicator of the lack of teacher comfort in the village schools is the impression one gets of lack of personal validity. For the most part, the Indian students are not rowdy and are not control problems in the usual sense. But the impression of teacher inadequacy does not stem from problems of discipline, but rather from a vague teacher feeling of being out of place. This problem, however, is shared by the pupils, although for the outside observer who is not a Blue Pine Indian their discomfort is less easy to observe than the discomfort of the teachers. This discomfort, as we have seen, does not manifest itself in alienation from the school on the part of pupils or teachers, but instead manifests itself in a system of etiquette that serves to delimit the range and depth of discomfort and to insure that it will not transcend acceptable levels. It would, therefore, be a mistake to assume that school systems on the Reservation with poor communications between pupil and teacher, teacher and parent, and even pupil and parent, would operate with the effect of disintegrating the village communities more than other agencies. The schools are largely too conventional for this, and appear to simply reinforce attitudes and behavior patterns typical of a wider cross-cultural setting.

The leadership of the schools, whether at the administrative level or the school board level, is uninformed and thereby ineffectual. It is uninformed in that it does not fully understand the cross-racial problems of the schools with their effects upon adequate communications. It is ineffectual because it does not attempt to understand these problems, and because it is deficient in the kind of perspective which would lead, through increased social knowledge, to an effective increase in essential cosmopolitanism. Indian leadership is similarly uninformed of the position of the teachers, administrators, and school boards as groups similarly placed in a frozen position vis-a-vis the children. Blue Pine Indian leadership seems to know that the schools are not adequate for the children, but it does not know in what ways. It is aware of the irrelevance of school to most of the pupils, and of the discomfort of many of the teachers, but it cannot or does not effectively intervene to create the communications breakthroughs so desparately needed by all concerned. And one should not forget that some Indian leaders regard white teachers partially from a racist standpoint.

2. Schools without sanctions

The Blue Pine village elementary schools operate without the sanctions of their communities. It would be very difficult, indeed, for the communities to either sanction or not sanction the operations of the schools, because their knowledge of the schools is so very limited. Sanctioning in the negative sense of school operations or personnel may sporadically occur, but it is usually in the form of an enraged parent accosting a teacher for alleged mistreatment of a child. It is not the kind of challenge of the school that could result in more basic changes that would affect more than one pupil.

On the whole, the village schools operate with the rubber-stamp sanction of the all- or nearly all-Indian membership of the school boards, who fall under the close attention of the Indian branch of the Minnesota State Department of Education. The Indian village school boards usually find their most effective range of responses to the school occuring in menial areas of decision-making; for example, whether the schools will be open for extra-curricular activities or not, and whether a given functionary (janitor, cook, driver, aide, etc.) should be retained, disciplined, or whatever. Functionaries, such as cooks, janitors, and drivers, are persons from the village communities who are in many senses very much like school board members themselves. Hence, they come under closer attention by board members than the teachers themselves. The functionaries are less often protected by the principal of the school from school board challenge and control, and are the personnel of the school who give board members some sense of power and control over school operations. But this control and power operate at a very low structural levels, indeed. Indian school boards in the villages may occasionally challenge a teacher for behavioral misconduct regarding children, but it is rare for a teacher to be fired by the school board for any reason.

3. The disregard for informal expertise

We have suggested that the schools are not providing adequate mechanical expertise for participation in the school environment by Indian pupils. It is also apparent that the schools do not provide adequate role training for later adult participation in community life, whether the community is the village on the reservation, the bordertown, or some urban place such as the Twin Cities or Duluth. Indirectly, however, the schools do impart a kind of role-training for adulthood which is related to the mutually acceptable, separatist etiquette structure of the schools. This informal instruction (or "noise") helps "instruct" Indian children that their best or most effective mode of interaction with white people is one of silence, passivity, and ritualized avoidance. In this sense, the schools do teach or train for adult roles, but these roles help structure a future situation in which the subordinate status of Indians will very likely remain the same. The expertise learned informally in the school environment, if retained, is not acquired as a skill and therefore subject to later criticism and revision by Indians, but is instead learned as habit. It is not, thereby, subject to later revision in the majority of cases. Indians who later come to review these habits, often through a different kind of schooling, are shocked and enraged by what they have been through and the narrow escape they have suffered.

4. Where complicity is a crime: the critics' choice?

Since the school as an institution is largely irrelevant to pupils, and since Indian parents, even when they are concerned about the functions of the school, know little about it and are relatively powerless to change it, do the schools really act to separate the child from his family and community? In the village schools, Blue Pine children are undergoing the stresses of generational problems vis-a-vis their parents just as Indian children almost everywhere in America, and just as black and white children in America. Sometimes "problems" in the behavior of Blue Pine children which cause their parents concern may be attributed to the schools when some other institutions, or the mass media, may be more likely targets for blame. The curricular aspects of the school do not seem to be very important in creating a separation of the child from his family and community. The informal aspect of the school, and to a far greater extent, the mass media, do seem important. Some of these mass media, to be sure, impinge upon the child in the context of the school environment. But Indian children are reached by radio, television, occasional commercial films, comic books, weekly magazines, and even local newspapers. Indian children also communicate with one another, so that an input to one child from the mass media may quickly spread to others.

At Blue Pine, then, the separation of the child in his early years from parent and community by the schools is probably not great, if one limits the question to the effect of the formal curriculum. The informal aspects of the school are important, but essentially validate existing Indian-white interaction patterns and expectations. It is probable that the most effective inputs from the school environments leading to generational differences and, perhaps, to strife in the family and community, come through the inputs of the mass media as they are directly and indirectly input to the child through the medium of teachers and peers. Thus it is not surprising that a child would wish to become a doctor, jet pilot, or beautiful movie or television star, while at the same time believing that as an

Indian child, he can become nothing. This paradox is understandable if the assumption is made that Indian children, like children elsewhere, compartmentalize their expectations, although as the years of schooling go by and the higher grades are reached, this compartmentalization becomes more obvious to the child and a closer rapprochement takes place between the occupational wish and the probability of reaching that occupation. In the case of Blue Pine Indian high school children, the probability of becoming a doctor is extremely low, and this is a realistic self-assessment on the part of these young people.

The schools separate the parents from the school. There are many ways in which this separation is accomplished, but the chief technique is simply to infer to the parent that he or she is irrelevant to the operations of the school and to the school-related welfare of the child. This vastly decreases the likelihood that the parent will interfere with school operations, but it also somewhat increases the likelihood that the parent will regard himself as irrelevant to the welfare of the child in realms larger than the narrow one of the school itself.

Similarly, the teachers, for this and other reasons, are made to feel irrelevant to the functions of the community. Their attempts to influence community life, even though well meant, are almost always met with rebuff. This rejection has upon the teachers a roughly analogous effect to their rejection of the parents.

Therefore, each keeps to his own realm, and the functions of both school and community essentially procede unimpaired by the well-meant interventions of either side. That the child helps to separate the teacher from himself and other children has been dealt with quite at length in an earlier section, and probably does not need restatement here except as it emphasizes the general consensus around interaction patterns that separate pupils, teachers, and parents in the relevant combinations.

5. The absence of local technical critics

Schools rarely attempt to secure community sanction in the positive sense for what they do. The concept of the community school, in whatever form (and there are many),has not yet reached the Indian leadership or the school leadership of Blue Pine. The school is seen as something separate, and the school itself sees the community as an alien environment in which the school and its personnel must function. Public Health Service and other outside agencies are similarly viewed by the Indian population, and regard themselves as additions to alien Indian communities. (In a later section of this report, under recommendations, we will attempt to suggest ways in which a version of the community school notion might be applied in a practical way to a Blue Pine elementary school, its corresponding secondary bordertown school, and a similar urban "system" in Minneapolis.)

Technically speaking, the schools are seen in the eyes of many Indian parents to be failing Indian children; that is, they do not graduate very many Indian boys and girls. But, like white parents in the bordertowns, village Indian parents have little to say in the way of criticism of the actual functioning of the schools. They tend to accept about equally the technical competence of the schools, even though those schools are seen to be failing most Indian children and even white children in a good proportion of the cases.

Thus, while the schools run counter to the educational expectations of Indian parents, which among other things exalt the notion of formal school completion, *the schools as institutions practicing a style of teaching and learning do not come under specific style-related criticism. Almost no Indians and few whites critique the actual technical competence of teachers, methods, and administration.*

E. The schools and the larger society

We have assumed that the schools are more representative of the outside society than of the culture of the Blue Pine Indian communities. In the case of the village elementary schools, we have seen that the schools are not only unrepresentative of the village communities, but that they also fail to impart to Indian children the kind of social expertise that would enable them more effectively to deal, as Indians with the larger society. In this sense, the schools convey crushing assumptions of the larger society. The subtle imparting to Indian children (and to minority children everywhere) of certain basic assumptions about the superordination of the larger society, and certain basic, implicit expectations and social skills regarding this assumption occurs. This "contribution" by the schools as representatives of the larger society occurs in a mutual and acceptable interaction context, but is in most respects not fruitful to Indian people. It is more beneficial to the schools and to the surrounding society.

In so far as the school seeks to improve its relationships with Indian pupils and parents under the racist assumptions referred to above, the school will only operate to increase and sophisticate the social and communicational gulf which separates the institution and its personnel from Blue Pine Indian people. A sadder aspect of this problem is that Indian people themselves are willing contributors to the sophistocation of the social mechanisms which serve to further consolidate their subordinate status.

Fundamentally, the most serious concern of the school personnel is that the narrowly-conceived curricular content of the schools be improved. It is supposed that these changes will overcome the problems of both personnel of the schools and Indian parents in their supposedly "common" goal of educating young Indians. But this is a peripheral common goal in the first place, and in the second, the formal curriculum is not the place to look for the kinds of substantive changes and improvements which would, in fact, help reach the mutual goal of increased proportions of Indian high school graduates. In the village schools, the area of instrumental skills and attitudes is generally overlooked, or treated with a vulgar, direct, and insulting coarseness which early precludes the likelihood that Indian children will gain much from this kind of "training".

Instrumental skills are imparted in a somewhat useful way to the Indian pupils of one of the village elementary schools. In this school, a principal of long residence with stringent requirements for pupil social conduct, but with a respectful manner of imparting this training, has succeeded in teaching forms of white social behavior that have been acquired as skills by some pupils. These social skills enable them to more effectively interact with white teachers and other school functionaries in the bordertown high school serving that particular village. From this village school and its "system" partner in the bordertown have come several state-level Indian leaders and one national-level Indian leader in the past several years. Furthermore, the proportion of Indian young people completing high school is higher in this system than in any of the other three at Blue Pine. Indian young people in the bordertown high school who have been educated and socially trained in this village elementary school show behavioral traits in cross-cultural interactions informally acquired quite different from children who have informally acquired other kinds of social "skills" in the other village schools.

1. The scarcity of Chippewa historical and cultural materials

Neither the elementary schools nor the bordertown secondary schools at Blue Pine teach knowledge and respect for Chippewa tribal traditions and values, in part because knowledge of these traditions and values is scant to the vanishing point. This is true both for Blue Pine Chippewa and local educators. In recent months, however, Dean Crawford of the University of Minnesota at Duluth has produced an excellent handbook for teachers of these children entitled _Minnesota Chippewa Indians_: _A Handbook for Teachers._* If properly utilized, this handbook may serve to diminish somewhat the lack of knowledge of contemporary Chippewa life styles in the reservations on or near which white teachers are attempting to educate Indian children. The handbook also contains an excellent historical background of the Minnesota Chippewa, and offers suggestions on how to employ both the historical background material and the material on contemporary Chippewa life in the classroom setting. Until the issuance of this handbook, nothing of any practical value was available to teachers of Indian children other than a recent annotated bibliography, of no really practical use unless the teacher cared to locate and critically read the material, construct classroom presentations, and then seek other ways to employ the material so that both Indian and white children could usefully participate in exercises based on the teacher's labors.

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*Crawford, Dean A., David L. Peterson, and Virgil Wurr: _Minnesota Chippewa Indians: A Handbook for Teachers._ St. Paul, Minnesota: Upper Midwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 1967.

Crawford's work was based upon both a thorough review of the pertinent literature on Minnesota Chippewa, and several months of empirical fieldwork conducted by the author and his associates.

If the Crawford handbook does no more than to shake the conviction of many white teachers that Chippewa Indians are genetically inferior, then it will have served a laudable human purpose. Many teachers whom we contacted as the instructor of a graduate-undergraduate extension course on Indian education in a bordertown were fully convinced of the genetic inferiority of Chippewa Indian people. Their viewpoints were racist. Little that took place in the context of the course shook these beliefs effectively.. Another serious problem which was the pervasive influence of the "cultural deprivation" notion, which has effects among teachers of Blue Pine Indian children very much like those of the genetic theory held by many other teachers. It is difficult to determine which effects are more detrimental for the fortunes of the Indian child in the classroom.

2. The absence of school accountability to the community

Village elementary schools take little account of community policy. In large part, because of the absence of legally constituted community governments, these schools operate outside the possibility of formal control. In some possible cases, controls could be exercised through the Reservation Business Committee, but this body has stayed away from attempts to formally influence the schools. The schools, therefore, operate free of any formal strictures other than those provided by the Indian branch of the Minnesota Department of Education, and to a far more restricted and trivial extent, those of the Indian school boards in the villages. While this absence of formal controls allows the schools to develop largely irrespective of direct inputs from the communities, the absence of these inputs also serves to limit the likelihood that administrators wishing to change school policy to more accurately reflect community values and attitudes will be able to do so. The lack of direct communication of these values and attitudes would be crippling.

Similarly, if the school wishes to inquire about community preferences in some respect, it has no alternative but to send home forms with the children in order to obtain this information. The absence of town governments offers no other course of action. Thus, the school is placed in a situation little of its own direct making, but which serves to limit its effectiveness in the community. It is difficult if not impossible for a village elementary school administration to take account of community policy, especially in the area of the values which it teaches, if the community does not provide some viable communications link between itself and the school. The values of the community - be they dominant or not - must be imparted in direct, clear ways to the school. In circumstances such as those at Blue Pine villages, which suggest on many levels that the community will not by itself provide this nexus, the schools are obliged to attempt to construct an alternative, temporary mechanism for this purpose. Much of the artificiality of this move on the part of the schools could probably be overlooked in face of the value of simply establishing a communications link.

A convenient rationale on the part of the school system for itself attempting to bridge the communications gap might be to suggest to the community that a stronger emphasis on Indian history and culture could be offered in the schools, and that the schools need help in providing this. A convenient rationale from the other side might be, even if it is induced by the schools, that Indians--especially Indian leadership-- might profitably learn more about the formal operations of the schools and, especially, the internally-and externally-induced problems of operating the schools. These schools might attempt to establish a feedback system in cooperation with the village community that would at the very least serve to diminish the impression on the part of Indians and teachers alike that the school and the community are necessarily separate entities. A major problem area in any such venture would be that the absence of essential cosmopolitanism would at the outset serve to structure new communications efforts along lines similar to those already a part of local Indian-white interaction. Should this occur, the increment in mutual information about the "other side" -- the schools on the one hand and the village Indian communities on the other -- might indeed be all that could be gained from the attempt. And the gain would be short-lived, but still, a gain nonetheless.

F. The "outside" commercial-industrial culture and the schools

Blue Pine Indian school children have few role models to observe within their own communities of occupational types related to the off-reservation world. In many ways, white youth from the Blue Pine area observe truncated occupational role models, as well, but as the data show, these youth, especially the young men, are radically more likely to choose an occupational role model of some kind over and against Indian young men.

The schools do little to encourage Indian youth, either in the village elementary schools, or later on in the bordertown secondary schools, in the development of interests in occupational models outside their own experience. Within their own experience, roles such as minding the small store, heavy pulping work, miscellaneous part-time work, or doing nothing are insufficient. Young Indians do observe a few Indian persons performing semi-skilled and skilled roles, and they observe white persons from the schools, from the public health service, and from the welfare agency performing in different occupations. But because these roles are occupied either by white men and women or white Indians, they have little credibility from the standpoint of most Indian young people. Most occupations seem distant and unreachable as personal goals.

Within the schools, particularly the village elementary schools, few displays depicting various kinds of occupational modes not familiar to the Indian children exist. In only one case during the many months of observation in these schools was such a display (a poster) observed, and it was very unattractive. Neither posters nor other methods were used to convey occupational models or their outward symbols to Indian children, although properly set in a cultural framework that would allow the Indian child to identify with the persons depicted in the roles, they could be effective. There is a total absence of materials showing, for example, Chippewa Indian teachers in the classroom with the attendant exhortation that the children choose to become teachers themselves. Even the service posters for the Army, Air Force, and Navy do not take pains to provide Indian faces on their handout literature. (Yet, as we have seen, they are still very successful in attracting Indian young men.)

Few Indian young people at Blue Pine graduate from high school. Some schools have dropout rates that in given years approach 100%, while no school has been fortunate enough to go below the 50% dropout point. All in all, the average dropout proportion from the reservation ranges somewhere between 60 and 75%, though many think this to be a conservative measure. Exact tabulation of the dropout proportions has never been attempted, because of massive problems of data-gathering.

An even smaller proportion of those who graduate from high school then go on to college, even though there are scholarships available for more young Indian persons than are used. Accordingly, not very many Blue Pine Indian young people, whether they stay at the reservation or migrate to the Twin Cities, get stable and well-paying jobs. As in the case of reservation families, whether they are new families with young heads of household, or older families, Indians who move to the Twin Cities appear in most cases to have great difficulty attaining stable and adequately-paying jobs. This appears to be the case for many high school graduates as well as those who have not completed high school, as data show from a recent survey of employment problems of Indians in the Twin Cities (Harkins and Woods, 1968). That study showed, for job applicants processed through the American Indian Employment Center during 1967, that the acquisition of a high school diploma made no difference in terms of many important variables such as income, intra-city mobility, and other factors.

All in all, neither the elementary schools in the Blue Pine villages nor the bordertown secondary schools on or near the reservation provide adequate curricula for properly orienting Indian young people to the "outside" commercial-industrial world. Some attention is being given to providing couseling service at one of the elementary schools, and some increased attention is being provided for deficient counseling services in the bordertown secondary schools, but it is unlikely, given the truncated communications that exist between white teachers, school counselors, and Indian pupils, that too much should be expected of these small beginnings.

A more concentrated approach, particularly one recognizing the importance of providing role models believable to Indian children and young people, would likely have a beneficial effect on the dropout problem and on the problem of Indian high school graduates and near-graduates having no apparent conception of a role in the work world.

At this time, the Minnesota Chippewa do not have available to them any materials that show in a favorable light the accomplishments of state Indian people, and offer, at least in the form of brochures, posters, or other means, role models that young Chippewa could use as focal points for their own development. These same materials would help teachers of Indian children greatly in two ways: first, by helping to convince many of them that Chippewa Indians can, in fact, engage in viable occupational activities; and second, by providing them with classroom discussion points and curricular materials that could serve from very early grades to suggest to Chippewa children models for personal development.

But all of this should not obscure the fact that many Indian people, old as well as young, do not subscribe to the basic value-clusters of middle-class American life, even when they are knowledgable of these values. The most disturbing kind of difference from dominant society life-styles and values is that which suggests that a different group does not subscribe to the basic values of acquisition, consumption and display associated with the economy. Many Minnesota Chippewa, including many of those at Blue Pine, do reject, at least in part, the basic values and attitudes---and therefore much of the behavior -- associated with proper behavior in a producer-consumer economy. No doubt, part of this rejection stems from the fact that most Chippewa in Minnesota are either living in or have come from a background of rural poverty. But in spite of this common background a strong retention of certain basic cultural themes of traditional Chippewa life remain and are manifest in the area under discussion. Thus, even if role models were provided for Indian children which stressed Indian successes in the occupational world, it would still be likely that many of the Chippewa children would not behave in the desired ways; that is, to see themselves in a future job role and then to attempt actually to reach that role and position. Many, in spite of their new knowledge, would behave in ways considered economically and occupationally unviable by more aculturated Indians and by most whites.

In the Twin Cities, there is much evidence to support this thesis. There, even comparatively well-educated Indians often choose not to work, or to work only periodically in order to "make enough to get by"for short periods of time. Yet, a basic assumption of the economy and value structure in the larger American society is that all present work, all present retention, and all present consumption are aimed toward very important but distant personal, familial, and social goals. When Indians do not maintain the expected kinds of behavior that a formal education to or beyond the high school level suggests they should (for example, in the economic areas suggested above), they can create great frustration and anguish for well-meaning whites. Often, these anguished whites are the very ones who have helped them through the rigors of the formal education process.

At Blue Pine, teachers in the high school often anguish over the fact that successful graduates from Indian villages sometimes go back to the villages after a short stay in the Army or another service, or a work experience. Or, these same Indians might take up the complex reservation-city migration pattern that typifies many reservation populations in Minnesota. These teachers, who often put in many extra hours to insure that the Indian youngster graduated from high school, feel rejected by this "return to the reservation", and no doubt suffer from misgivings about the usefulness of a successful high school experience for Indian youngsters.

All of this simply serves to point out that the formal curriculum is but one small aspect of the schooling experience, and that the schooling experience takes place in a larger, more important context.

G. The absence of alienation, and some possible unforseen benefits

Critics of schools which attempt to educate Indian children have often argued that these schools operate so as to alienate Indian youth. At Pine Ridge, particularly, this position has been taken after research by the Waxes and Spilka. But at Blue Pine, the schools do not generally operate so as to alienate Indian youth from their tribal culture, but rather help create in them a condition of anomia. Anomia differs from alienation in that anomia denotes a personal condition of normlessness, confusion, and pointlessness, while alienation connotes these same negative emotions but also that the alienated person knows or thinks he knows the reason for his malaise.

In the case of Pine Ridge , alienated Indian youth often point to the schools and to the teachers as the "reasons" for their alienated feelings, and the same is true for black youth in many urban ghetto schools. But at Blue Pine, anomic Indian youth do not point to the schools or the teachers as alleged causes for their problems. They usually blame no one. There is an exceptional youth, on occasion, who does blame someone for his troubles, but very often youths blame themselves rather than the teachers.

As is the case with poor white Appalachian folk, who are themselves often anomic in this sense, the occasional alienated Indian youth tends to protect the system which created his alienation by diverting much of the blame from that system to himself. Thus it is not surprising to find an Appalachian poor man who attributes his poverty not to a fault in the larger economic structure of which he is a part, but to some defect in himself; and it is not surprising to find an Indian youth who claims that his major problems in school are due to the fact that he is "Indian".

More often than not, this "explanation" on the part of the Indian youth for his problems in school has nothing directly to do with racist qualities of the school, but rather suggests a racist attitude toward self fostered by interaction with the school system, among other influences. In a situation such as this, the Indian student has no object against which to effectively demonstrate his unease or his displeasure but himself, and many young Chippewa Indian appear to do just this.

The schools serve to alienate Indian youth, in the case of Blue Pine young people, not from the "tribal culture," which is largely dissipated, but from their communities of the future through the inducement of alienation from self in the present. The school and its processes are so irrelevant to the Indian community that few if any see the connection between what goes on in the schools and what transpires in the community. But by imparting within the schools a feeling of powerlessness and lack of personal identity on the part of Indian youth, these schools act to help preclude that that Indian youth and his peers will ever develop a viable community in the future.

In many respects, of course, the Indian communities that exist now are "viable". But as we have seen in the position paper, and as we will see in the position paper to follow soon, much, if not all, of what is viable in these present communities cannot effectively act to change what is dooming the children in the present, partially through the functioning of the school system. Thus, through being irrelevant to present Blue Pine Indian communities, and through imparting of a sense of irrelevance to the students, the schools act to prevent the emergence of future commities which could more effectively control many aspects of the community, not just the schools.

More correctly, perhaps, the schools operate so as to help create marginal Indian youth, or youth who are not actively alienated from the reservation community or the outside commercial-industrial culture, but from themselves. Since a marginal man may be both anomic toward or alienated from a particular cultural framework, Indian youth could be either alienated toward the schools or the commercial-industrial culture or anomic toward either of these. Pine Ridge youth appear to be to be alienated toward the school system and anomic toward the commercial-industrial culture, while Blue Pine youth appear to be anomic vis-a-vis the schools and moderately alienated from the commercial-industrial culture.

Thus, as with minority groups other than Indians in both urban and rural situations in the United States, the "system" does its work effectively. It protects itself from potentially upsetting minority criticism by imparting early in minority youth a sense of inadequacy and ill-definition of self. This early creation of confusion and doubt serves to turn back upon self severe questioning and criticism that could, under other circumstances, be more usefully and properly directed toward the features of the larger society that help sustain the minority group in its subordinate position.

Blue Pine youth and their parents, through the schools and other means, chiefly mass media inputs mediated by the schools, have learned their lesson well. For the most part, their "conditioned" response to white society is to avoid it. Through this avoidance, immediate conflict is rendered improbable. But in the long run, the very control over life, both individual and collective, is surrendered. All that could possibly be left after a capitulation so early and so complete are defensive holding actions, and an occasional enraged response to personal history, or "what they did to me."

H. Demonstrated problems in Indian community: the proper and improper "fit" of the schools

Because the schools in the village Indian communities are outside institutions, and in that respect very similar to outposts of the Public Health Service, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, or the Office of Economic Opportunity, and because the communities themselves lack effective local government, the schools occupy approximately the same relation to the surrounding communities as the outposts of the federal agencies just mentioned.

The efforts of the Blue Pine Indian community to control any outside institutions are sporadic and usually ineffective. They are normally directed at individuals within the agencies rather than at the agencies themselves. On those rare occasions when the Reservation Business Committee attempts to operate as a political force against an agency, such as Public Health Service, it is usually abjectly ineffective. A major reason for this ineffectiveness is the lack of contact between the Reservation Business Committee and the several village communities, so that rarely do these communities have even incomplete knowledge about the actions of the Busines Committee. They are, therefore, not in a position to support it. Knowing these dynamics and their implications, the representatives of agencies being addressed by the Reservation Business Committee feel little constrained to observe its requests or demands, and fitted thereby with a convenient rationale for agency fiat.

The application of the Fessler Community Attitude Scale indicated that, on the whole, the Indian village residents were more pessimistic of their ability to control certain aspects of community life, and disapproved in more cases of these aspects than white bordertown residents. For example, Indian parents showed a measurable increment in distress over and against white parents on the subject of youth behavior, and the cooperation of people to get things accomplished in the villages. A general spirit of dissatisfaction seemed to prevail about how the community looked, and there was indication that little could be done about this. Blue Pine Indians also indicated that friendships were harder to find in their communities, and that people were less polite and courteous. They indicated, far more than white parents in the bordertowns, a feeling that being different would cause others to become critical. But these findings do not indicate for either Indian or white communities that differences indicated an unwillingness of people to live in these communities. On the whole, both Indian parents and white parents were equally content with the basic relationships between themselves and their communities as indicated by their nearly identical responses to the statement: "I feel very much that I belong here."

But even if people feel at home in their town or village they may intensely dislike and/or be critical of certain aspects of community life. As we indicated before in the first position statement, Minnesota Chippewa Indians are highly political people. They are intensely involved in many, if not most, aspects of their village community life. Their cultural history also asserts itself as an atomizing influence, especially when it is seen against the backdrop of the outwardly "more cohesive" white community. But members of white communities are not as politically involved on every level--particularly the personal--as Chippewa Indians.

and may not, therefore, be so privy to full knowledge of most aspects of their community life. As village Indians, the Chippewa parents surveyed in this project were far more likely to be intimately knowledgable about many more aspects of their community life, since so few of these aspects were "far away", either socially or physically. In addition, few aspects of their community lives are bureaucratized to the extent that individual personalities are significantly submerged. The submergence of personalities from the systems of the village Chippewa takes place only in the case of white people, and, as we have indicated, even these white people are under constant pressure to become involved in the personal judgement system so typical of the Blue Pine villagers. But most white people understand that to become so involved for the reward of friendship and immediate comfort may indeed mean long-term discomfort through participation in a reciprocity system that is foreign, and which runs counter to the expectations of bureaucratic personal and agency life styles.

For both white and Indian parents surveyed with the Fessler scale a curious phenomenon is evident: while both parental groups are often critical of certain aspects of institutional life in their communities (particularly the Indian parents), both parental categories essentially endorse these community institutions. This tendency seems to suggest equally strong conservatism and, to some extent, similar powerlessness regarding dominant features of community life.

While criticizing the effectiveness of the churches, Indian parents fully endorse them as beneficial for community life. While criticizing aspects of the economic reward system, Indian parents to the same extent as white parents endorse local businesses. While expressing criticism of community leadership, both Indian and white parents essentially endorse specific political bodies now existing in their separate communities. In the case of the schools, Indian parents sustain their critical perspective more consistently than in any other area of community life probed through the Fessler scale. Even so, their endorsement of the technical aspects of the operations of the school suggests that they have little knowledge of these technical aspects and still less awareness of the relationship between these aspects and the overall social and psychological effects of the school on their children.

Thus, the schools, although they tend to come under more criticism than other outside agencies, are essentially free from the kind of criticism which could in some cases act to materially alter their day-to-day operations. As we have said, this absence of power over the schools is based upon an ignorance of school functioning; poor communications between the schools and the community; uninformed and ineffectual leadership in both the schools and the Indian community; and the absence of a functional trans-cultural overview, which we have called "essential cosmopolitanism". Under the proper circumstances the latter could tend to either (1) bring about communication; or (2) help make up for the deficiencies in interaction and the irrelevance of the schools despite the absence of effective communications structures. But to expect the latter is to expect too much of any human group. Indeed, to expect the first in the absence of school recognition of community viability and the possible benefits of assistance from that community, and to expect the second in the face of community ignorance of the school and unwillingness to undergo the embarassment and newness that would accompany attempts to make more effective contacts with the school, is to expect everything and nothing.

The next section of this report will deal with a wider context, already suggested here, in which the schools and other agencies operate in a village context at Blue Pine. The wider context with which we will deal is concerned with federal agencies whose programs impinge upon the community and the schools as well. Much potential exists in some of these programs for the beginnings of change along the lines that have been suggested, but this potential is not being realized at Blue Pine. For reasons which operate both at the reservation level, in agencies and in the communities, and at another level, for reasons which are realted to operational settings and personnel quality and motives, little seems to be accomplished in spite of great inputs of effort and money. Some of the programs enacted by two of these major agencies, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Economic Opportunity, are directly educational in nature, operate in the schools, and often have as a part of their mission the changing of some aspect of those schools. Yet, the changes have not taken place. The next section of this report will deal with the levels of conception and operation within the bureaucratic structures of these two agencies and others, federal, state, and local. The critique will not be limited to education programs alone, since we believe they operate in crucially important broader contexts.

IX. A Second Position Paper: BIA, OEO, and Other Education and Education-Related Programs

A. Differences in federal program conception and operation

Federal programs proliferate at Blue Pine. In some way, most are concerned with child or adult education in some form. They tend to operate with different philosophies and methods.

An obvious difference between programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Economic Opportunity, whether these programs are aimed at reservation development or whether they are aimed at "assimilation into the mainstream", is that a conscious attempt to involve Indian people has been more characteristic of the OEO than the Bureau. But fundamentally, both the OEO and the Bureau of Indian Affairs are bureaucracies. As such, they are subject to many apparently natural social developments that result in decreased flexibility and increased emphasis on internal operating conditions. These changes in organizational characteristics have an impact upon program type and operation.

Lacking evidence to the contrary, it appears that OEO education and other programs have been characterized by more imaginative effort in the planning and implementation stages than Bureau programs. Yet over the years, many Bureau programs have been imaginative, and there are Bureau programs in existence now probably as imaginative and as close to current human development theories as any programs in the OEO.

Over the short years of its operation, the OEO has undergone changes related to the developments in bureaucracies mentioned above. It is now even fashionable, though not in reservation Indian community action programs, to seriously indicate that "OEO is dead." While it would be indeed uncommon to hear such a comment in a reservation setting concerning OEO, it is not at all uncommon to hear definite criticisms made about OEO's increasing rigidity and intolerance of imaginative and grass-roots programs for funding purposes. Many of these programs are educational or education-related.

It is perhaps an obvious and common tendency to evaluate the OEO as it functioned in 1964-65, and perhaps early 1966, and to evaluate the Bureau as it is conceived to have operated traditionally over the decades. This is an unfair way to compare the types of programs that the two agencies generated over their respective spans of operation. While the Bureau of Indian Affairs may be said to continue sporadic efforts at program innovation, some of which involve the people in the several stages of program actuation, perhaps it would also be accurate to say that imaginative OEO programs are now hard to be found in operation anywhere. Indeed, one learns that OEO CAP boards and staffs are having increasing difficulty in getting imaginative programs or even simple, locally-developed programs funded by an OEO Indian Desk oriented to several specific program modes nation-wide. It is possible that what OEO was in the days of the early implementation of the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act on Indian reservations is no longer anywhere to be found, and that what the Bureau is today on Indian reservations has elements of what the OEO once demonstrated on these same reservations. It should not be implied, however, that the OEO involves the people of the reservations less often today in program development, actuation, and evaluation than it did in the early days of Indian CAPs. This apparently is still at a high peak of involvement, and perhaps increasing. A major problem, though, seems to lie in the actual funding of programs developed through the people by the OEO Indian Desk. The OEO Indian desk apparently establishes or has thrust upon it internal guidelines for support of selected components, and then follows these guidelines without benefit of a formally constituted Indian advisory body.

In this vein, Indian OEO programs have sought from the start to work through established tribal or reservation governmental bodies such as the Blue Pine Reservation Business Committee, while, often, these bodies were out of step with the community development practices of the times and the wishes of reservation people. Often, the members of these governing boards or bodies had served through long periods of interlocutorship between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the local Indian people, so that they were ill-fitted to assume responsibility for programs with a definite emphasis upon real involvement of grass-roots people. Yet, in very few, if any, cases has the Indian desk sought to utilize indigenous political bodies outside or tangential to traditional reservation governing bodies as contracting agencies for OEO CAPs. This has probably slowed the development of change on the reservations, and has made these OEO programs far more susceptible to the traditional kinds of restraints that long-operating Bureau of Indian Affairs programs have helped to create and support.

B. The problem of program evaluation

A major underlying problem in the comparative evaluation of OEO and BIA educational and community development programs is the absence of data by which to make comparisons. Neither the Bureau nor the OEO make a practice of adequately documenting their reservation programs in order to make even internal comparisons possible on a conventionally rigorous basis, not to mention cross-agency comparisons.

It is a startling fact that through the several years of OEO operations and through the many decades of Bureau operations the absence of program documentation and evaluation has been allowed to procede largely unchecked. Yet, in American industry, there is much internal research which exists for this very purpose, and much research with a different focus aimed at developing new products. The kind of research that could demonstrate new programs and document their usefulness is curiously absent from multi-million dollar annual Indian American program efforts.

In industry, research, whether it is basic or applied, must have a "pay-off." That is, it must show an eventual profit. The often short-lived and arbitrarily funded assistance programs which have been carried out through OEO and Bureau auspices are not so pressed to show the profit equivalent in social and economic ways appropriate to assistance programs. This lack of accountability may and probably does greatly inhibit the recognition of those programs that are successful and those that are not, and the wider implementation of the former. This lack of accountability and the appropriate mechanisms to insure and measure it also protects individuals in decision-making capacities at all levels.

It is rumored that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has nowhere on its staff at any level a social statistician. The impression is received by some in contact with OEO and the Bureau that the services of outside observers, perticularly those from the social sciences, are often not sought because of their technical expertise, but rather because of other factors, such as personal loyalty and commitments to prevailing guidelines and agency practices. Yet, some governmental agency should and must provide appropriate and adequate evaluation of Indian anti-poverty, education, and assistance programs carried out by other agencies within the government. As one alternative, separate agencies from those actually carrying out programs should contract with responsible agencies in the private sector to conduct these evaluations. The problems of what is known as "in-house" evaluations are legion, and it would be unrealistic to expect that persons untrained in program evaluation from rigorous viewpoints would suddenly acquire the necessary expertise to evaluate their own programs when put in a position of managerial capacity. Even professionals engaged in the evaluative process from social science standpoints may often be reasonably accused of seeking to favorably evaluate their own work when the success of their programs and reputations may depend upon it. Therefore, even when the absence of expertise is disregarded, the expectation of adequate program evaluation by insiders is freighted with basic, debilitating problems.

Comparison of specific education programs between OEO and the Bureau of Indian Affairs awaits the formal written compilation by both of these agencies of programs currently in action, of those operated in the past, those planned for the future, and of the various operating philosophies under which these programs were conceived and put into effect. A detailed account of implementation techniques, problems, and successes is absent for developments in community programs from each of these agencies. Both agencies are reputed to have "poor files," which would probably make a careful comparison along the lines just mentioned difficult. Yet it would seem that in order to facilitate general implementation of more effective community development techniques, as well as the spread of more viable operational ideologies, both agencies would wish to gather as accurately as possible information about their programs, and then to pass this information along to other agencies working with Indian people.

C. The problem of program coordination

It is at the Washington level that operating difficulties in reservation education and other programs become predetermined, or are avoided. It appears that little at his level in the way of precautions has been taken to avoid, for example, duplication of programs at the local level. It also appears that few precautions have been taken to avoid truncated communications between local operating OEO and Bureau agencies. In some cases, it also appears that few opportunities have been constructed in a cooperative context at the Washington level to insure that communications between the two agencies would even be effectively structured.

One of the most interesting aspects of the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) has been the assumption by some that what cannot or has not occurred at the Washington level would occur at the local level; namely, that competing agencies of government could somehow work out on Blue Pine Reservation problems which they found impossible to work out (or were unwilling to work out) in Washington. Cooperative efforts in the building of housing on Indian reservations, for example, may be initiated at the local level, but ultimately must be approved at much higher levels. So it is with all or nearly all programs.

It appears as though communications at the local level of federal agencies on reservations are actually better than at the Washington level. In actual operations at the reservation level, BIA officials usually find themselves in a defensive posture vis-a-vis local Indian CAP officials. It is difficult to say what this superordinate-subordinate relationship between the two agencies on the reservation level actually means in terms of the quality of communication between the two. It may be assumed that local Bureau officials operating "under the gun" will less likely be fully candid about their operating problems and conditions when with OEO CAP officials than they might be within their own agency. The reverse is also true of OEO officials, who are often unwilling to divulge to Bureau officials at the local level exactly what the criteria for component selections within OEO are, and the problems and prospects of concretely actualizing those components.

When speaking privately to members of either agency, it is apparent that actual cooperation is inhibited along many lines. Not the least in importance among the inhibiting factors, aside from the fact that the two agencies are in a naturally competitive state, is the feeling among some BIA officials that OEO's less restricting bureaucratic structure unfairly gives OEO personnel the advantage over more restrained Bureau employees, even when the programs in question between the two agencies may be roughly similar in design and complexity. Imaginative and lively Bureau personnel at the local and area office level often feel unfairly hemmed in by the structure of the Bureau, and look enviously upon the more favorable operating conditions of the Indian community action program structure, and the absence of an area office equivalent. Another source of operating friction between the two agencies at the local level is the feeling by some Bureau personnel that OEO personnel are more likely to have effective contacts with politicians that can result in a perceived unfair advantage of OEO over Bureau interests.

But whatever operates to inhibit cooperation between the two agencies at the local level, as we have already pointed out, operates as well at the Washington level. The centrality of this fact cannot be overlooked. Not only OEO and Bureau cooperation, however, may become inhibited at the reservation level to the detriment of the interests of Indian people. PHS, EDA, FHA, the Department of Agriculture, Labor, MDTA, and other federal agencies have all experienced tense and unproductive involvement in attempts at mutual cooperation through, or with the assistance of, OEO and the Bureau. There have been instances of cooperative success, but there could be many more if operating assumptions and guidelines, particularly at the Washington level, were improved. With improvement at this level, enhancement at the local level should follow.

Complicating the picture of difficult federal agency cooperation is the interaction of these agencies with state government agencies and local governmental agencies. To expect that OEO community action programs should be able to effectively interrelate all three levels of government, when the first cannot become effectively interrelated in the interests of Indian people at the Washington level, is to expect the impossible. This is not to say that at the local level, OEO officials as well as members of other governmental agencies at other levels do not attempt to effect cooperative interrelationships. They do. It is simply, to repeat, that the task is very nearly impossible given conditions higher up the structural and political ladders.

With few exceptions, the OEO at any level has failed to effectively interrelate the services of federal, state, and local agencies in the best interests of reservation Indian people. While some competition at all three levels of governmental agencies probably has its beneficial sides, the overall effect is probably wasteful. One of the areas in which this waste may be manifest clearly is employment. The meaningful employment of Indian people is perhaps the greatest problem, together with adequate education for Indian children and adults, that reservation people face today. It is in this area, perhaps, that the failure to interrelate Bureau and OEO programs at the Washington level has had the most devastating results. For without viable employment at adequate wages, Indian people must remain in the foreseeable future economically dependent upon federal government, state government, and county government for basic life necessities. This is not to say that the basic problem of the poor man, Indian or non-Indian, is always the need of a good job; it is, however, to say that a poor man living in jobless reservation circumstances has little real hope if he intends to remain in his home community. Of course, we are already aware that even when jobless Indian men and women leave the reservation environment to seek employment in urban areas, they often do not find it there, either.

D. A basic debilitator: the program climate of reservations

Since there is a program climate at reservations, and since most of these programs are fiscally based and subject to many viscissitudes beyond the control of most beneficiaries, they often work contrary to their aims by lowering the sense of essential Indian control over life circumstances.

While in some instances, apparently correct modifications of standard guidelines or perspectival approaches to education or anti-poverty programs are employed for Indian people, in other cases it would appear that differences are employed which are not related to that culture. In still other cases, it would appear that certain basic guidelines or perspectives are laid down without respect to the differences between Indians and other minorities in America.

"Maximum feasible" participation in specific program components loses much of whatever usefulness it may have had in light of the larger dependency of Indians upon the very existence of programmatic services themselves. Even if Indians are involved in program acquisition, the decision-making criteria and the decision-makers are almost always obscure or invisible.

E. The relation to schools as filters of value and intention

This report has stated the apparent importance of the schools as channels for imparting information from the larger society, chiefly through the mass media. But this report has also taken pains to emphasize that the schools are only one agency in the Indian communities performing this function. Federal, state, and local programs that operate episodically, or which, as in the case of county or Bureau welfare programs, operate continously but in such as manner as to erode self-respect, perform the same negative function of the schools: they directly and indirectly imply to Indian people that their subordinate wardship status is still very much present, only diminished in degree.

Headstart, Study Hall, adult education, day care programs, house-building apprenticeship programs, and a variety of other "outside" federal programs seeking to impart skills or knowledge to Indian children and adults act to sustain the awareness of Indian people of their unpreparedness to perform in certain basic roles in their own communities and the larger society. This may be true even when some functionaries in these programs are Indians themselves, because in many cases these Indians are desparately attempting to succeed in terms of the values of the larger society. They may therefore be contemptuous of unskilled or unacculturated Indians much as lower middle-class school teachers are contemptuous toward poor urban ghetto children, from whose class level these teachers have recently emerged.

What these programs, whether federal, state, or local have equally in common, despite their good intentions and their occasional effectiveness on a limited scale, are their lack of reliance upon poor contact with the several significant levels of Indian community -- not just the leadership level -- for determination of community problems and the creation and implementation by Indians themselves of relevant programs to meet these problems. Without this approach, which emphasizes the fullest possible involvement of all levels of Indian communities--and not just the governmental level of reservations--it a participation in self-determination of problems, and then a participation in the solving of these problems. Once again, is important to emphasize that various strata within Indian communities will see different problems, and will respond to them differently. Thus it makes little sense to continually view all Indian reservations as communities when there may be many communities, both geographic and social, within the reservation or within a given community on the reservation. If these communities are allowed to emerge and engage in communication with the controllers of material and human resources, and if these resources are sustained over periods longer than the usual fiscal duration, then it would be reasonable to expect far more willing participation and better results --both from the standpoint of Indian participants and from the standpoint of white agency personnel.

The final section of this report suggests one flexible model for participatory determination of the education and education-related problems of the Blue Pine Reservation, as well as a particular Minnesota urban Indian ghetto population. It is offered as one possible alternative to programmatic "solutions" offering limited involvement (or "feasible" participation) imposed largely from the outside. The key foci of this suggested approach are three:

1. Self-determination by relevant communities within Indian populations of education and education-related problems, with the assistance of technical expertise employed as consultative help by these Indian populations;
2. Evaluation of problem areas by the relevant Indian communities, and the suggestion, with the help of hired technical expertise, of possible solution to these problems;
3. A commitment on the part of federal and other agencies to honor plans for education and education-related changes in Indian communities for as long as required to effect these changes, and to sustain them in a continuing evaluative context lengthy enough to permit adequate evaluation according to the standards of Indian people.

X. Self-Study, Self-Help, And The Rural-Urban Movement

A. The reservation-city rush

A recent study, Indians in Minneapolis, jointly published by the Minneapolis League of Women Voters and the Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, documents the marginality of urban life for the reservation Indian migrant. It suggests little progress over the years in coping with the needs and problems of this special population. It reveals considerable frustration on the part of social service agency personnel who confront daily episodes concerning the adaptation of rural Indians to urban life. There is no doubt that those whose job it is to help the Indian American succeed in the city would welcome more knowledge which could lead to more effective problem solutions. The need for new and imaginative approaches to what is by now an old problem in Minnesota is great.

Data from the Minneapolis American Indian Employment Center suggest that there is a substantial core of Indian migrants who enter and leave the Minneapolis-St. Paul area each year in response to social and economic pushes and pulls. The exact nature of these migratory paths and the relative strengths of various influencing factors are not known, yet the effects of migration may be expected to alter the educational, social, and economic lives of many Indian Americans in this region.

Not all Indians display this propensity to migrate. Data from house-to-house surveys in the Near North and Near South sides of Minneapolis, for example, suggest that there is another, more stable Indian population in the Twin Cities which is less likely to change its residence. The difference is strong enough to suggest that the two populations are quite distinctly different.

Before meaningful educational programs can be designed to meet the needs of Minnesota Chippewa Indians, much more must be known about these migratory patterns. The provision of education for Indian children, the employability potentials of Indian adults, the eligibility of Indians for health and welfare services, and the extent to which Indians can expect to become a part of a predominantly white society depend in large part upon these mobility dynamics. From existing data, it is evident that substantial numbers of Indian migrants come from or return to Blue Pine, Mille Lacs, Red Lake, and Leech Lake Reservations. What is not entirely clear is the scope and frequency of urban-reservation, reservation-urban, and inter- and/or intra-city movement, as well as the factors which induce Indians to assume relatively permanent households in urban or rural settings.

B. What might be done

The Department of Education of the State of Minnesota could aid Indian people in the development and operation of two demonstration schools located in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and on the Blue Pine, Minnesota, Chippewa Reservation, a major migratory locale. In cooperation with local Indian leadership and public school officials in the two areas, and with the cooperation and assistance of the Minneapolis Public Schools and the University of Minnesota, the project could directly involve Indians in defining key educational and related problems and arriving at solutions for them.

A practical, state-wide goal for this project could be to drastically reduce the dropout frequency of Indian children through the theories and techniques developed and practiced at the two selected demonstration schools. Indian people and their leadership might, however, define other educational and social problems and devise appropriate techniques for dealing with these in the context of participation in the demonstration schools program.

The long-range objective of this project could be to demonstrate that residents of selected Indian communities or neighborhoods, given organizational and technical support on request, and access to the resources of the larger community and area, could themselves develop locally effective educational and training agencies with great relevance to educational planning and practices for other Indian communities.

To accomplish the long-range objective, the following could be established as tentative short-range objectives:

1. Through existing agencies, the organizing and staffing of temporary, fact-finding neighborhood/community-based education and training offices, with operation of these offices guided by policy-making groups of neighborhood Indian residents in Minneapolis, and by the community delegate agency of the Blue Pine Reservation Business Committee. Staffed by project-trained residents, this structure would provide an impact of basic values, attitudes, and local preferences for meeting educational and training needs.
2. Immediately involving Minneapolis and Blue Pine Indian residents in the design and conduct of a survey of the

project areas which will seek to reveal:

   a. Actual incidence and prevalence of educational and training deficiencies;
   b. Resident attitudes toward individual and community education and training, and related problems and services;
   c. Potential and actual leadership patterns which can lead to further resident involvement in the project.

3. Using inputs from the above activities and elsewhere, involving skilled consultants in the design and implementation of a proposal for relevant educational and training programs at the two demonstration schools that have the support of local Indian people. This proposal could be submitted within six weeks of the start of the above participation survey and research work.
4. Directly involving local teachers, counselors, administrators and other school personnel in a close working relationship with Indian people in the two locales so that communication is maximized between the groups, and so that any plans for inclusion in the final proposal are the product of full community and institutional participation.

Using the participatory community approach to program development, and recognizing the vast interest of Indian people and educators in improving Indian education, the objective of the proposal development phase could be the total, productive participation of the Indian people and local educators in mutually desired educational-training plans superior to existing ones.

A community school approach emphasizes Indian participation and understanding of the educational system through identification with the school and community. This type of approach would allow rural and urban Indians to gain power over meaningful school-related aspects of their lives and the lives of their children. The objectives of the community school approach would provide the operating framework for development of the proposal. These objectives might be:

1. Defined through parents' involvement in planning and conduct of the proposal;
2. Defined by direct involvement of teachers, counselors, administrators and other school personnel in a close working relationship with Indian parents so that they feel a part of this total community effort;
3. Defined through the use of community resources at all levels to develop a relevant proposal for funding agencies.

Generally, methods for implementing proposal development involve the training of parents, teachers, staff members and the community to allow for total involvement, and temporary staff assignments with pay to Indian people, particularly to parents of school children.

Specifically, parental involvement could include:

1. Participation in a committee with the power to plan, implement and help evaluate the development program;
2. Being hired to fill staff positions as discussion leaders, research aides, etc.;
3. Setting up and running parents' meetings, exclusive teacher-

parent meetings, learning about schools and school government, meeting with students around recreation and cultural events;

4. Being short-term trained in how to relate to teachers and the school system and to recognize and utilize friendly intentions on the part of schools and their staffs;
5. Organizing and participating in adult activities with an educational slant, especially in regard to continuing their own educations.

School officials could take an active role in instigating parent-teacher involvement in the area of proposal development. Such involvement could include:

1. Discussion training and re-education about Indian culture in Minnesota;
2. Discussion of the development of new methods of reaching the Indian child in the classroom and making him feel part of that classroom;
3. Discussions with other teachers, administrators and Indian parents around problems in Indian education;
4. Discussion of development of materials, textbooks, pamphlets, films, etc. about Indian culture;
5. Teacher visits to homes of Indian parents;
6. Discussion of development of teacher training materials for use by schools in working with teachers of Indian children.
7. Workshops around Indian culture in Minnesota could be held.

Other areas that could be explored are:

1. The methods of teaching Indian children; possible establishment of a state-wide Committee on Indian Education;

2. Possible research problem areas that may not have been visible before;

3. Having Indians, scholars and social-action oriented professionals come together for stimulating cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary contacts.

Obviously, the major emphasis of the proposal development phase is involvement and intercooperation of the schools, parents, students and the community. The basic determination of the program must, however, come from the Indians themselves. Not until the program is actually launched can determinations of class content, of class structure, the day's actual schedule, pupil behavior or responsibility, or specific ways parents and teachers should involve themselves be made. These responsibilities would be left to the determination of the Indian people, their leadership, and the advisory professional project staff. Indian leadership in Minneapolis and Blue Pine has already, in some ways, indicated its interest in carrying out these responsibilities.

The development component of the project would follow the general guidelines established by the National Research Conference on American Indian Education (May, 1967) for involvement of Indians in the research program. With one modification (underlined), these are:

1. Engaging to the fullest extent possible Indians who are professionally trained researchers in the design and direction of the study, and who are acceptable to Indian board members of the project;

2. Training and utilizing Indians to the fullest extent possible in data collection and analysis;

3. Presenting the research results in such a manner as to be

> of maximum use to Indian leadership in the development of educational policies for Indians and in recommending more effective educational programs to serve Indian people.

A precondition for adequate understanding of the educational problems of urban and rural Indian peoples is a furthered understanding of the urban Indian population and social composition. A second precondition is broadened understanding of the schools in which these children are taught. The research, then, could have three general interlocked phases, all contributing to meeting these two preconditions and to a specific measurement of the effectiveness of the demonstration program:

1. To gather secondary and primary information about the nature of Minneapolis urban Indian life styles, values and expertise, as these data relate to the functioning of Indian parents, children and leaders together with the public schools; and as they relate to Blue Pine schools and communities;
2. To gather secondary and primary information about the formal and informal characteristics of selected Minneapolis and Blue Pine public schools, as these data relate to the functioning of teachers, administrators, and specialized school personnel with Indian parents, children and leaders;
3. To continuously match these secondary and primary inputs with each other and with the primary data gathered from

the demonstration project itself, thereby enabling researchers, practitioners and Indians to gain progressively expanded understandings of the settings against which the project is working, and to more knowledgeably restructure, guide and evaluate it.

As early as possible in the conduct of the research component, researchers could seek the active support of Minneapolis and Blue Pine schools and school-related agencies in the identification, collection and preliminary analysis of previously gathered data pertinent to the project. The data could be gathered in such a way as to help meet the two stated preconditions, and would follow specific guidelines outlined in the current National Study of American Indian Education. They are of two categories and could be analytically interrelated to determine relationships between selected socioeconomic variables and selected educational variables. Related to the underlying assumptions of the hypotheses, they are:

Educational Variables

1. The present status of education of Indian children and youth in Minneapolis and at Blue Pine;
2. The proportions that finish the eighth grade;
3. The proportions that enter and complete high school;
4. The rural and urban proportions enrolled in public and parochial schools and their comparative performances in these two settings;
5. Comparative attendance facts;
6. Information on every Indian pupil in grades seven and eight of selected schools, including: name, sex, age, test data,

grades, conduct record, test scores; random sampling of non-Indian pupils taken for comparative purposes.

Socioeconomic Variables

1. The general living standards of Minneapolis and Blue Pine Indian families;
2. Family income distributions;
3. Educational levels of parents;
4. Occupational characteristics of parents, including job histories;
5. Mobility dynamics of the Indian populations;
6. Housing styles and adequacy, including living space for family members;
7. Records of attendance of Indian parents to school functions and responsiveness to school communications.

C. Procedures for primary data acquisition on the Indian Populations

As early as possible in the conduct of the research component, researchers could gather primary data on urban and rural Indian families potentially or actually participating in the demonstration program. Education and education-related data categories employed for purposes of hypothesis testing could be:

1. General family variables from the second group of sources listed above, gathered by questionnaires and useful for hypothesis testing;
2. Through questionnaires and interviews with parents, particularly (but not limited to) those whose children may participate in the demonstration program, changes in

parents' views about the schools; parents' views about the demonstration program; parents' general values about formal education; parents' expectations for the education of their childfen; parents' expectations of the work careers of their children; independence of degree of traditionalism of parents; and other variables related to hypothesis testing.

3. Through interviews with children, particularly (but not limited to) those who may participate in the demonstration program, changes in children's views about the schools; children's views about the demonstration program; children's general values about formal education; children's expectations about the extent and direction of their own formal education; children's expectations about their own work careers; index of the degree of traditionalism of children; and other variables related to hypothesis testing.

Questionnaire and interview data could be heavily supplemented by observation and participant observation on the part of Indian and non-Indian research personnel. The actual details of observation instruments and report forms could be developed with the help of the National Study of American Indian Education (N.S.A.I.E.) research teams, where feasible, and for comparative purposes could center around changes in the following key variables in the community school context:

Children

1. Competition for achievement among pupils;
2. Academic standards of the children;

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3. Peer group relations;
4. Pupil-teacher relations;
5. Pupil-parent relations.

Parents

1. Changes in the perceived goals of schooling;
2. Changes in satisfaction with the public schools and/or the demonstration program;
3. Changes in educational and occupational aspirations for children;
4. Changes in type and frequency of school involvements.

As early as possible in the conduct of the research component, researchers could gather primary data on school personnel potentially or actually involved in direct or indirect ways with the demonstration program. Through questionnaires and interviews with school personnel, changes could be detected in personnel views about the schools; general and specific personnel views about the value of education per se, and about the value of education for Indian children and parents, in particular; personnel views about the educational expectations of themselves and of other educators for Indian children and parents; personnel views about the work expectations of themselves and other educators of Indian parents and children; personnel views about the degree of traditionalism of Indian parents and children; etc.

Questionnaire and interview data could be heavily supplemented by observation and participant observation on the part of Indian and non-Indian research personnel. Here also, the actual details of observation instruments and report forms could be worked out with the help of the N.S.A.I.E. research teams, where feasible, and for comparative purposes could center around changes in the following key variables in the community school context:

1. Changes in teacher-pupil relations;
2. Changes in teacher-parent relations;
3. Changes in the understanding and interpretation of Indian peer group relations;
4. Changes in perceived goals of schooling for Indian parents and children;
5. Changes in satisfaction with public schools and/or the demonstration program as agency(ies) for the education of Indian children and parents;
6. Changes in understanding of viewpoints on the educational occupational aspirations of Indian parents and children;
7. Changes in type and frequency of school functions related to Indian people.

For purposes of continuous feedback, data analysis could proceed throughout the program. Rigorous daily reporting procedures and formal quarterly write-ups could insure proper feedback to Indian program practitioners, parents, and Board members. The data could be held in strictest confidence, according to requirements set up by the Board.

The involvement of Indian people from the inception of the study to its conclusion increases the likelihood that the findings of the demonstration program could be put to constructive use by Indian leaders and educators, not only in Minneapolis and Blue Pine, but in other urban and rural areas as well.

A major meeting of Minneapolis and Blue Pine Indian people and their leaders, tribal officials, Bureau of Indian Affairs, University of Minnesota and State Department of Education personnel, among others, took place in Bemidji, Minnesota, on April 5-6, 1968. Indian enthusiasm for the type of approach outlined above was demonstrated plainly for all participants to see. Sound tapes were made of this first meeting and transcriptions are being made so that participants and others may look over the conference proceedings and make changes and additions. Many more such meetings of various compositions in the inner city Minneapolis and Blue Pine Reservation cultural and social centers are needed, together with inputs from depth interviews, survey instruments and participant observation in the schools and communities. Meetings conducted by Minneapolis Indians around education and education-related problems have also recently begun.

The education project suggested here offers a basis for positive self-awareness and reidentification through the culture and system of rewards and punishments of the Indian and not of the non-Indian. The approach could operate under the assumption that Indian persons will most successfully adapt via collectivities rather than as individuals, as have many minority groups in the history of urban America.

Based upon demonstrated educational and education-related problems of Blue Pine and Minneapolis Indians, this program could thus employ a modified version of the community school plan developed by the Rough Rock, Arizona, Demonstration School at Chinle. The emphasis in that program was on total control of the school by the Indians themselves. The program outlined here for the Minneapolis urban area and the Blue Pine Reservation proposes total Indian involvement in the planning, conduct, and evaluation of all phases of the demonstration programs. It is unlikely, as history demonstrates, that any program of any nature imposed from the outside can serve as a substitute for one willed by Indians themselves. Participation of Indians in important ways means that Indians must be offered concrete program responsibility, must be afforded program opportunities they can utilize, and must develop a pragmatic confidence in themselves through carrying out these functions. A major component of the Rough Rock School is cultural identification, most effectively implemented through curriculum design and control by Indians. This demonstration project could thus propose curriculum design emphasizing cooperative planning and implementation among teachers, students and parents.

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PUBLIC EDUCATION ON A MINNESOTA CHIPPEWA RESERVATION

VOLUME 4

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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Public Education On A Minnesota Chippewa Reservation

Final Report
On
Cooperative Research #7-8138

To
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Of
Education

Sponsored
By
The University of Kansas

Conducted
By
Arthur M. Harkins

Under The Supervision
Of
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Volume 4

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APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRES

(Socioeconomic Background Questionnaire)

Name ____________ Last ____________ First ____________ Middle

2. Address ______________________________

3. Age ____________

4. Sex ________ Male ________ Female

5. Age Group ________ Juvenile ________ Over 16 ________ Over 65

6. Head of House ______ Yes ______ No

7. Relationship to head of Household ______ Spouse ______ Son ______ Daughter ______ Other Relative

8. Marital Status ______ Married ______ Single ______ Divorced ______ Widowed ______ Unwed Mother

9. Religion ______ Catholic ______ Episcopal ______ Other Christian ______ Non-affiliated

10. Veteran ______ Yes ______ No

11. Public Health Eligibility ______ Yes ______ No

12. Degree of Indian Blood ______ Less than ¼ ______ ½ to ¼ ______ 3/4 to Full ______ White

13. CAP Participation ______ Juvenile ______ Adult

14. Education (Highest grade completed) ______ 0 to 5 years ______ 5 to 8 years ______ 9 to 10

______ 11 ______ 12 ______ 13 plus

15. Aged Handicapped ______ 65

16. Transportation in Family ______ Yes ______ No

17. Income
1. ________ 0-999
2. ________ 1,000-1,999
3. ________ 2,000-2,999
4. ________ 3,000-3,999
5. ________ 4,000-4,999
6. ________ Over 5,000

18. Source of Income 1. ______ Contributory Insurance Social Security other retirement plans
2. ______ Non-Contributory
3. ______ General Relief
4. ______ Employment earnings
5. ______ Self-employed
6. ______ Other

19. Job Title 1. ______ Professional, Technical, Manegerial
2. ______ Clerical Sales
3. ______ Service Occupation
4. ______ Farm Fish - Forestry
5. ______ Processing
6. ______ Machines Trade
7. ______ Bench work
8. ______ Structural
9. ______ Miscellaneous

20. Skill Rating 1. ______ Much Training 2. ______ Some Training or Experience
3. ______ In Training

21. Housing (Complete for Head of Household only)
1. ______ Standard
2. ______ Sub-standard
3. ______ Non-rated

22. Water System 1. ______ Well 2. ______ Other
3. ______ None

23. Toilet 1. ______ Flush 2. ______ Privy

24. Heating 1. ______ Wood 2. ______ Oil 3. ______ Gas

25. Land Tenacy 1. ______ Own 2. ______ Rent 3. ______ Tribal Land

4. ______ Other

BLUE PINE EDUCATION SURVEY

Please think of how the statements on these sheets apply to your village or town, and to the people who live around you if you live outside the village or town. Here is the way you can fill in what you think about these statements:

> If you think the statement fits very well, circle vt for "very true."
> If you think the statement applies only a little, circle t for "true."
> If you can't see how it relates in any way, circle nd for "not decided."
> If you think it is not true, circle u for "untrue."
> If you think it is definitely not true, circle du for "definitely untrue."

1. Real friends are hard to find in this community. vt t nd u du
2. Our schools do a poor job of preparing young people for life. vt t nd u du
3. Local business deal fairly with everyone. vt t nd u du
4. The community is very peaceful and orderly. vt t nd u du
5. A lot of people here think they are too good for you. vt t nd u du
6. Families in this community keep their children under control. vt t nd u du
7. The different churches here cooperate well together. vt t nd u du
8. Some people here "get by with murder" while others get in trouble for anything they do. vt t nd u du
9. Almost everyone is polite and courteous with you. vt t nd u du
10. Our schools do a good job of preparing students for college. vt t nd u du
11. Everyone here tries to take advantage of you. vt t nd u du
12. People around here show good judgement. vt t nd u du
13. People won't work together to get things done for the community. vt t nd u du
14. Parents teach their children to respect other people's rights and property. vt t nd u du
15. Most of our church people forget the meaning of the word brotherhood when they get out of church. vt t nd u du
16. This community lacks real leaders. vt t nd u du
17. People give you a bad name if you insist on being different. vt t nd u du
18. Our high school graduates take an active interest in making their community a better place in which to live. vt t nd u du
19. A few people here make all the money. vt t nd u du
20. Too many young people here get into difficulties with sex and drinking. vt t nd u du
21. The community tries hard to help its young people along. vt t nd u du
22. Folks are unconcerned about what their kids do so long as they keep out of trouble. vt t nd u du
23. The churches are good for better community life. vt t nd u du
24. The town council runs the town to suit itself. vt t nd u du
25. I feel very much that I belong here. vt t nd u du
26. Many young people in the community do not finish high school. vt t nd u du
27. The people here are all penny pinchers. vt t nd u du
28. You must spend lots of money to be accepted here. vt t nd u du

29. The people as a whole mind their business. vt t nd u du

30. Most people get their families to Sunday school or church on Sunday. vt t nd u du

31. Every church wants to be the biggest and most impressive. vt t nd u du

32. A few people have the local politics well sewed up. vt t nd u du

33. Most of the students here learn to read and write well. vt t nd u du

34. People are generally critical of others. vt t nd u du

35. Local employers expect their help to live on low wages. vt t nd u du

36. You are out of luck here if you happen to be of the wrong race or nationality. vt t nd u du

37. No one seems to care much how the community looks. vt t nd u du

38. If their children keep out of the way, parents are satisfied to let them do whatever they want to do. vt t nd u du

39. Most of our churchgoers do not practice what they preach. vt t nd u du

40. The town council gets very little done. vt t nd u du

BLUE PINE EDUCATION SURVEY

1. Do children ever learn things at school that make them be disrespectful or mean to their parents - or makes their parents feel sad? ____________________

   ____

2. Have your children ever learned anything at school that makes you and your family feel pleased? ____

   ____

3. When it comes to teaching your children English and Arithmetic, do you think the teachers do a good job or a bad job? ________________________

   ____

4. Does the school do a good job or a bad job in teaching children competition?

   ____

5. Sometimes children get ashamed in school and don't like to go. Have you heard of anything like that? ________________________________

6. Have you ever helped your child with lessons? ______________________

7. Do you think people who go to school get better jobs than people who don't go to school? ______________________________________

8. What kind of a job do you want your kids to have when they grow up and finish school? ______________________________________

9. In what way is going to school going to help them get such a job? __________

   ____

   ____

10. Has your child ever said he didn't want to go to school? ________________

BLUE PINE EDUCATION SURVEY

Name______________________________________Grade Taught____________Sex____

What are the nicest things about teaching here?______________________________

____

What are the worst things about teaching here?_______________________________

What are the special difficulties about teaching Indian children here?__________

____

Are there any respects in which it is easier to work with these children than with others?____

What do you feel these children need most in the way of education?_____________

____

What are the things that make it hardest for you to do a good job teaching these children?____

What changes would you make or what programs would you initiate to improve the situation here?____

____

As you see it, what are the biggest problems of the Indian people on the Reservation?____

Since you have been working on or near the Reservation, have you had any special training in the teaching and handling of Indian youngsters?____If so, please describe it.____

____

Do you feel this training was the right kind, and that there was enough of it?

____

Where did you get your training? How many years of training and experience do you have? What are your degrees?____

In what schools and grades have you taught?__________________________________

(PLEASE WRITE ON THE BACK IF YOU NEED EXTRA SPACE.)

Academically, how do Indian and White children compare here?____________________

____

How do they compare socially?____

____

BLUE PINE EDUCATION SURVEY

Name______________________Age__________Grade__________

Address____

Where else have you lived?___________________________________

How many people live in your house?___________________________

What are your favorite TV programs?___________________________

What do you want to be when you grow up?______________________

If you could be anybody you wanted to be, what person would you like to be the very most?____________________ Why?____________________

____

What do you like to do for fun?_______________________________

When you are at home, when do you really feel proud?____________

When you are at home, when do you really feel bad?______________

What is your best subject in school?___________________________

What is your worst subject in school?__________________________

When do your parents visit the school?_________________________

What do your parents say about your grades?____________________

What do your parents say if you don't want to go to school?__________

____

What do your parents say about the school?______________________

Is there a teacher you really like? Why do you really like this teacher?______

____

Is there a teacher you don't really like? Why don't you like this teacher?______

____

When you are in school, when do you really feel proud?___________

When you are in school, when do you really feel bad?____________

Even if you aren't sick, when do you really want to stay home from school?

______________________________ ______________________________

Do other pupils ever make you feel bad at school?__________ Why?______________

____

Who is the pupil you really like the most in class?____________________

Why do you like this pupil the most?___________________________________

Who is the person you like a lot who is not in school?________________

Why do you like this person a lot?______________________________________

APPENDIX II

INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS

TABLE 1: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	16 & below	17 - 21	22 - 40	41 - 65	66 +
Village A						
97M	0	54	12	22	10	2
87F	1	54	10	22	10	3
Village B						
114M	0	52	5	24	13	6
114F	0	59	4	21	12	4
Village C						
168M	3	49	7	14	23	4
161F	4	50	7	16	16	7
Village D						
153M	6	54	8	13	16	3
160F	6	54	8	14	14	4
All Villages						
532M	2	52	8	18	16	4
522F	3	54	7	18	13	5
1,054 M & F	3	52	8	18	14	5

TABLE 2: MARITAL STATUS DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Married	Single	Widowed	Divorced	Unwed Mother
Village A						
97M	13	31	53	1	0	0
87F	8	29	55	5	1	2
Village B						
114M	0	33	62	3	2	0
114F	2	33	59	4	0	2
Village C						
168M	39	26	34	1	0	0
161F	41	29	20	6	2	2
Village D						
153M	14	29	53	4	0	0
160F	10	28	54	8	0	0
All Villages						
532M	17	30	51	2	0	0
522F	15	30	47	6	0	2
1,054 M & F	16	30	49	4	0	1

TABLE 3: HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Yes	No
Village A			
97M	6	30	64
87F	6	9	85
Village B			
114M	0	30	70
114F	0	5	95
Village C			
168M	25	31	44
161F	28	16	56
Village D			
153M	2	29	69
160F	4	14	82
All Villages			
532M	8	30	62
522F	10	11	79
1,054M & F	9	20	71

TABLE 4: RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Spouse	Son	Daughter	Other Relative	Not Related
Village A						
97M	27	11	54	8	0	0
87F	8	33	8	49	2	0
Village B						
114M	28	4	56	1	10	1
114F	5	25	4	54	9	3
Village C						
168M	27	2	61	3	7	0
161F	17	25	2	49	7	0
Village D						
153M	7	30	52	3	8	0
160F	5	33	16	40	6	0
All Villages						
532M	32	12	56	4	6	0
522F	6	30	8	49	6	1
1,054 M & F	14	21	32	27	6	0

TABLE 5: DEGREE OF INDIAN BLOOD DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Less than 1/4	1/2 - 3/4	3/4 - Full	White
Village A					
97M	16	1	30	41	12
87F	7	5	44	40	4
Village B					
114M	5	32	62	1	0
114F	2	9	55	32	2
Village C					
168M	1	24	45	27	3
161F	5	20	50	23	2
Village D					
153M	14	4	34	48	0
160F	9	3	30	58	0
All Villages					
532M	9	15	43	29	4
522F	6	9	45	38	2
1,054 M & F	8	12	43	34	3

TABLE 6: INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	00-999	1000-1999	2000-2999	3000-3999	4000-4999	5000+
Village A							
97M	65	6	14	7	6	1	1
87F	77	16	5	1	1	0	0
Village B							
114M	56	17	10	5	8	2	2
114F	82	9	4	1	4	0	0
Village C							
168M	59	9	14	7	5	4	2
161F	78	8	8	5	1	0	0
Village D							
153M	73	15	6	3	3	0	0
160F	84	10	6	0	0	0	0
All Villages							
532M	62	12	11	6	6	2	1
522F	80	11	6	2	1	0	0
1,054 M & F	71	12	8	4	4	1	0

TABLE 7: SOURCE OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	*	Non-Contributory	General Relief	Employment Earnings	Self-Employed	Other
Village A							
97M	65	5	1	10	19	0	0
87F	71	4	1	11	10	0	0
Village B							
114M	54	5	3	0	35	2	1
114F	81	4	4	0	10	1	0
Village C							
168M	61	4	5	1	23	3	3
161F	76	6	8	1	8	0	1
Village D							
135M	70	7	1	1	16	2	3
160F	82	5	6	1	3	0	3
All Villages							
532M	63	5	3	3	22	2	2
522F	78	5	5	3	8	0	1
1,054 M & F	70	5	4	3	15	1	2

TABLE 8: EDUCATION (HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED)
DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS
(PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	0 - 5 yrs	5 - 8 yrs	9 - 10 yrs	11 yrs	12 yrs	13+
Village A							
97M	29	19	30	15	3	4	0
87F	21	25	30	16	5	3	0
Village B							
114M	3	38	26	14	1	4	4
114F	2	46	17	17	6	8	4
Village C							
168M	21	17	45	9	4	4	0
161F	23	16	31	12	6	6	6
Village D							
153M	19	25	32	19	1	3	1
160F	18	23	31	16	9	3	0
All Villages							
532M	19	25	33	15	2	4	1
522F	16	28	27	15	7	5	2
1,054 M & F	18	28	30	15	4	4	1

TABLE 9: JOB TITLE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	PTM	CS	SO	FFF	P	MT	BW	S	M
Villabe A										
97M	64	3	1	12	15	0	1	3	1	0
87F	80	0	0	7	1	0	5	6	0	1
Village B										
114M	62	1	0	8	22	0	1	0	4	2
114F	90	0	2	4	0	0	3	0	0	1
Village C										
168M	70	3	2	5	14	0	2	0	0	4
161F	79	2	2	7	3	0	2	0	0	5
Village D										
153M	88	1	0	1	7	0	1	0	0	2
160F	98	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Villages										
532M	70	2	1	7	15	0	1	1	1	2
522F	87	0	1	5	1	0	3	1	0	2
1,054 M & F	79	1	1	6	8	0	2	1	0	2

PTM = Professional, Technical, Managerial
CS = Clerical Sales
SO = Service Occupation
FFF = Farm, Fish, Forrestry
P = Processing
MT = Machines, Trade
BW = Bench Work
S = Structural
M = Miscellaneous

TABLE 10: SKILL RATING DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Much Training	Some Training or Experience	In Training
Village A				
97M	65	27	8	0
87F	83	13	3	1
Village B				
114M	89	2	9	0
114F	97	1	2	0
Village C				
168M	81	7	12	0
161F	90	3	7	0
Village D				
153M	93	0	7	0
160F	99	0	1	0
All Villages				
532M	82	9	9	0
522F	93	4	3	0
1,054 M & F	88	6	6	0

TABLE 11: TRANSPORTATION IN FAMILY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Yes	No
Village A			
97M	64	31	5
87F	63	28	9
Village B			
114M	19	65	16
114F	29	56	15
Village C			
168M	56	30	14
161F	68	19	13
Village D			
153M	65	25	10
160F	69	14	17
All Villages			
532M	51	38	11
522F	58	29	13
1,054 M & F	54	34	12

TABLE 12: RELIGIOUS CHOICE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Catholic	Episcopal	Other Christian	Non-Affiliated
Village A					
97M	7	8	51	29	5
87F	3	9	64	24	0
Village B					
114M	0	46	27	5	2
114F	0	42	29	29	0
Village C					
168M	2	54	42	2	0
161F	0	62	38	0	0
Village D					
153M	7	47	43	0	3
160F	3	50	47	0	0
All Villages					
532M	5	41	42	10	2
522F	2	42	43	13	0
1,054 M & F	3	42	42	12	1

TABLE 13: VETERAN STATUS DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Yes	No
Village A			
97M	17	23	60
87F	16	5	79
Village B			
114M	4	20	76
114F	4	2	94
Village C			
168M	39	24	37
161F	48	0	52
Village D			
153M	29	23	48
160F	33	3	64
All Villages			
532M	22	23	55
522F	25	3	72
1,045 M & F	24	13	63

TABLE 14: PUBLIC HEALTH ELIGIBILITY OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Yes	No
Village A			
97M	5	65	30
87F	3	73	24
Village B			
114M	5	32	63
114F	3	33	64
Village C			
168M	2	77	21
161F	4	61	25
Village D			
153M	12	51	37
160F	17	51	32
All Villages			
532M	6	56	38
522F	7	55	38
1,054 M & F	7	56	37

TABLE 15: RECPTION OF BENEFITS DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Yes	No
Village A			
97M	55	5	40
87F	57	7	36
Village B			
144M	6	6	88
144F	5	5	90
Village C			
168M	38	7	55
161F	38	9	53
Village D			
153M	18	27	55
160F	19	27	54
All Villages			
532M	29	11	60
522F	30	12	58
1,054 M & F	30	11	59

TABLE 16: AGED/HANDICAPPED DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	65 and Non-Ambulatory
Village A		
97M	100	0
87F	100	0
Village B		
114M	99	1
114F	98	2
Village C		
168M	97	3
161F	95	5
Village D		
153M	96	4
160F	97	3
All Villages		
532M	98	2
522F	97	3
1,054 M & F	97	3

TABLE 17: LAND TENANCY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Own	Rent	Tribal Land	Other
Village A					
97M	74	12	7	2	5
87F	91	6	2	0	1
Village B					
114M	69	10	6	4	11
114F	92	3	0	3	2
Village C					
168M	67	11	5	13	4
161F	86	6	1	6	1
Village D					
153M	70	3	6	20	1
160F	80	3	4	13	0
All Villages					
532M	70	9	6	10	5
622F	87	5	2	5	1
1,054 M & F	78	7	4	8	3

TABLE 18: HOUSING QUALITY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Standard	Sub-Standard	Non-Rated
Village A				
97M	75	5	18	2
87F	92	2	6	0
Village B				
114M	72	12	16	0
114F	93	3	4	0
Village C				
168M	66	4	30	0
161F	84	0	16	0
Village D				
153M	78	1	18	3
160F	90	1	9	0
All Villages				
532M	72	6	21	1
522F	91	2	6	1
1,054 M & F	81	4	14	1

TABLE 19: WATER SYSTEM DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Water System	Own Well	Other	None
Village A					
97M	75	7	8	1	9
87F	91	1	8	0	0
Village B					
114M	72	18	2	4	4
114F	93	6	0	1	0
Village C					
168M	66	3	2	0	29
161F	83	0	1	0	16
Village D					
153M	73	1	22	1	3
160F	81	1	15	1	2
All Villages					
532M	72	7	9	2	10
522F	87	2	6	0	5
1,054 M & F	79	5	8	1	7

TABLE 20: HEATING SYSTEM DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Wood	Oil	Gas
Village A				
97M	74	14	11	1
87F	91	7	2	0
Village B				
114M	70	17	10	3
114F	93	4	3	0
Village C				
168M	67	25	7	1
161F	85	12	2	1
Village D				
153M	71	27	2	0
160F	81	16	3	0
All Villages				
532M	70	21	8	1
522F	88	10	2	0
1,054 M & F	79	16	5	0

TABLE 21 : TOILET TYPE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Toilet (Flush)	Privy
Village A			
97M	76	5	19
87F	91	0	9
Village B			
114M	71	16	13
114F	92	5	3
Village C			
168M	66	3	31
161F	84	0	16
Village D			
153M	72	2	26
160F	81	3	16
All Villages			
532M	71	7	22
522F	87	2	11
1,054 M & F	79	5	16

APPENDIX III

INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS

TABLE 1: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	16 & below	17-21	22-40	41-65	66 & up
Town A						
30M	3	57	7	13	13	7
26F	0	62	12	15	7	4
Town B						
75M	1	48	17	21	13	0
90F	1	63	7	11	18	0
Town C						
134M	1	65	9	10	13	2
147F	0	65	6	15	13	1
Town D						
182M	3	54	8	16	12	7
33F	0	67	9	9	9	6
All Towns						
421M	2	56	10	15	13	4
296F	0	64	9	13	12	2
717 M & F	1	59	10	14	13	3

TABLE 2: MARITAL STATUS DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Married	Single	Widowed	Divorced	Unwed Mother
Town A						
30M	3	33	64	0	0	0
26F	15	30	45	0	5	5
Town B						
75M	16	27	57	0	0	0
90F	24	24	46	3	3	0
Town C						
134M	41	23	32	2	2	0
147F	38	22	37	2	1	0
Town D						
182M	42	29	22	5	2	0
33F	12	15	64	6	0	3
All Towns						
421M	25	28	44	2	1	0
296F	22	23	48	3	2	2
717 M & F	24	26	46	2	1	1

TABLE 3: HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Yes	No
Town A			
30M	10	30	60
26F	7	7	86
Town B			
75M	11	28	61
90F	9	3	88
Town C			
134M	10	24	66
147F	10	7	83
Town D			
182M	25	19	56
33F	3	9	88
All Towns			
421M	14	25	61
296F	7	7	86
717 M & F	10	16	74

TABLE 4: DEGREE OF INDIAN BLOOD DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Less than 1/4	1/2 - 3/4	3/4 - Full	White
Town A					
30M	0	17	73	3	7
26F	0	12	80	8	0
Town B					
75M	1	40	54	5	0
90F	0	37	59	4	0
Town C					
134M	12	36	42	10	0
147F	12	29	49	10	0
Town D					
182M	5	30	42	21	2
33F	3	66	18	3	0
All Towns					
421M	4	30	54	10	2
296F	4	37	52	6	0
717 M & F	4	34	53	8	1

TABLE 5: INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	0-999	1000-1999	2000-2999	3000-3999	4000-4999	Over 5000
Town A							
30M	67	10	10	7	3	0	3
26F	92	4	4	0	0	0	0
Town B							
75M	67	9	9	6	4	1	4
90F	91	7	1	0	0	1	0
Town C							
134M	74	7	5	7	3	3	1
147F	93	3	2	1	1	0	0
Town D							
182M	76	8	8	3	2	1	2
33F	94	3	0	3	0	0	0
All Towns							
421M	71	9	8	6	3	1	2
296F	93	4	2	1	0	0	0
717 M & F	82	7	5	4	1	0	1

TABLE 6: SOURCE OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	*	Non-Contributory	General Relief	Employment Earnings	Self-Employed	Other
Town A							
30M	64	3	3	0	20	10	0
26F	87	0	0	0	9	0	4
Town B							
75M	61	1	0	0	28	7	3
90F	89	0	0	3	6	1	1
Town C							
134M	78	7	0	0	10	4	1
147F	93	1	0	1	3	1	1
Town D							
182M	74	5	8	2	8	1	2
33F	94	6	0	0	0	0	0
All Towns							
421M	69	4	3	0	17	6	1
296F	91	2	0	1	4	0	2
717 M & F	81	3	1	0	11	3	1

* Contributory Insurance, Social Security, Other Retirement Plans

TABLE 7: EDUCATION (HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED) DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	0-5 yrs	5-8 yrs	9-10 yrs	11 yrs	12 yrs	13+
Town A							
30M	10	50	13	13	7	7	0
26F	15	38	12	22	9	4	0
Town B							
75M	5	29	23	21	0	0	4
90F	0	37	59	4	0	0	0
Town C							
134M	19	40	25	11	1	3	1
147F	14	33	26	17	5	4	1
Town D							
182M	22	22	28	10	5	8	5
33F	9	46	24	9	3	9	0
All Towns							
421M	15	34	22	14	6	7	2
296F	10	39	30	13	4	4	0
717 M & F	13	36	26	13	5	6	1

TABLE 8: JOB TITLE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	PTM	CS	SO	FFF	P	MT	BW	S	M
Town A										
30M	77	0	0	0	20	3	0	0	0	0
26F	91	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	1
Town B										
75M	67	3	0	9	11	1	1	1	3	4
90F	88	3	1	5	0	1	0	0	1	1
Town C										
134M	82	1	0	2	7	1	3	0	3	1
147F	92	0	0	5	0	0	1	1	0	1
Town D										
182M	82	2	3	8	3	0	2	0	0	0
33F	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Towns										
421M	77	1	1	4	10	2	2	0	2	1
296F	93	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	1
717 M & F	85	1	0	5	5	1	1	0	1	1

PTM = Professional, Technical, Managerial
CS = Clerical, Sales
SO = Service Occupation
FFF = Farm, Fish, Forestry
P = Processing

MT = Machines Trade
BW = Bench Work
S = Structural
M = Miscellaneous

TABLE 9: SKILL RATING DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Much Training	Some Training or Experience	In Training
Town A				
30M	86	7	7	0
26F	96	0	4	0
Town B				
75M	87	9	4	0
90F	94	3	3	0
Town C				
134M	78	14	7	1
147F	92	2	6	0
Town D				
182M	88	4	7	1
33F	97	0	3	0
All Towns				
421M	85	9	6	0
296F	95	1	4	0
717 M & F	90	5	5	0

TABLE 10: TRANSPORTATION IN FAMILY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Yes	No
Town A			
30M	17	66	17
26F	12	53	35
Town B			
75M	47	34	19
90F	67	22	11
Town C			
134M	72	24	4
147F	88	9	3
Town D			
182M	72	20	8
33F	91	3	6
All Towns			
421M	52	36	12
296F	64	22	14
717 M & F	58	29	13

TABLE 11: RELIGIOUS CHOICE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Catholic	Episcopal	Other Christian	Non-Affiliated
Town A					
30M	0	70	7	23	0
26F	0	35	23	33	9
Town B					
75M	0	70	15	15	0
90F	1	70	11	17	1
Town C					
134M	7	57	9	23	4
147F	5	56	12	26	1
Town D					
182M	0	60	35	5	0
33F	3	61	0	36	0
All Towns					
421M	2	64	17	16	1
296F	2	55	12	28	3
717 M & F	2	59	15	22	2

TABLE 12: VETERAN STATUS DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Yes	No
Town A			
30M	7	10	83
26F	15	0	85
Town B			
75M	21	17	62
90F	18	2	80
Town C			
134M	29	13	58
147F	36	3	61
Town D			
182M	45	2	53
33F	12	0	88
All Towns			
421M	26	11	63
296F	20	1	79
717 M & F	23	6	71

TABLE 13: PUBLIC HEALTH ELIGIBILITY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Yes	No
Town A			
30M	0	33	60
26F	9	31	60
Town B			
75M	3	49	48
90F	2	36	62
Town C			
134M	5	59	36
147F	3	67	30
Town D			
182M	5	67	28
33F	0	42	58
All Towns			
421M	3	52	45
296F	4	44	52
717 M & F	4	48	48

TABLE 14: RECETION OF BENEFITS DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Yes	No
Town A			
30M	17	3	80
26F	15	4	81
Town B			
75M	35	7	58
90F	31	4	65
Town C			
134M	65	11	24
147F	67	6	27
Town D			
182M	35	8	57
33F	24	3	73
All Towns			
421M	38	7	55
296F	34	4	62
717 M & F	36	6	58

TABLE 15: LAND TENANCY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Own	Rent	Tribal Land	Other
Town A					
30M	67	10	10	13	0
26F	96	0	0	4	0
Town B					
75M	73	9	11	4	3
90F	93	4	1	1	1
Town C					
134M	76	16	3	1	4
147F	93	4	1	1	1
Town D					
182M	86	5	2	6	1
33F	94	6	0	0	0
All Towns					
421M	75	10	7	6	2
296F	94	4	0	2	0
717 M & F	85	7	3	4	1

TABLE 16: HOUSING QUALITY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Standard	Sub-Standard	Non-Rated
Town A				
30M	67	13	20	0
26F	92	4	4	0
Town B				
75M	73	7	20	0
90F	92	5	3	0
Town C				
134M	76	10	10	4
147F	94	2	3	1
Town D				
182M	81	3	15	1
33F	91	3	6	0
All Towns				
421M	74	8	17	1
296F	92	4	4	0
717 M & F	83	6	11	0

TABLE 17: WATER SYSTEM DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Own Well	Other	None
Town A				
30M	70	7	17	6
26F	96	4	0	0
Town B				
75M	79	8	6	7
90F	93	4	3	0
Town C				
134M	76	13	11	0
147F	95	2	3	0
Town D				
182M	95	2	3	0
33F	91	3	6	0
All Towns				
421M	80	8	9	3
296F	94	3	3	0
717 M & F	87	6	6	1

TABLE 18: HEATING SYSTEM DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Wood	Oil	Gas
Town A				
30M	66	17	17	0
26F	96	0	4	0
Town B				
75M	74	13	8	5
90F	91	3	3	3
Town C				
134M	76	16	5	3
147F	93	5	2	0
Town D				
182M	82	13	4	1
33F	94	3	3	0
All Towns				
421M	74	15	9	2
296F	92	3	4	1
717 M & F	83	9	7	1

TABLE 19: TOILET TYPE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Toilet (Flush)	Privy
Town A			
30M	67	10	23
26F	96	0	4
Town B			
75M	76	11	13
90F	92	5	3
Town C			
134M	77	12	11
147F	94	1	5
Town D			
182M	82	3	15
33F	94	3	3
All Towns			
421M	76	9	15
296F	94	2	4
717 M & F	85	6	9

APPENDIX IV

COMPARISONS OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGES AND TOWN DWELLERS

TABLE 1: COMPARATIVE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	16 & below	17-21	22-40	41-65	66 & above
All Villages						
532 M	2	52	8	18	16	4
522 F	3	54	7	18	13	5
1,054 M & F	3	52	8	18	14	5
All Towns						
421 M	2	56	10	15	13	4
296 F	0	64	9	13	12	2
717 M & F	1	59	10	14	13	3
Reservation						
953 M	2	54	9	16	15	4
818 F	2	58	8	16	13	3
1,872 M & F	2	56	8	16	14	4

TABLE 2: COMPARATIVE MARITAL STATUS DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	Married	Single	Widowed	Divorced	Unwed Mother
All Villages						
532 M	17	30	51	2	0	0
522 F	15	30	47	6	0	2
1,054 M & F	16	30	49	4	0	1
All Towns						
421 M	25	28	44	2	1	0
296 F	22	23	48	3	2	2
717 M & F	24	26	46	2	1	1
Reservation						
953 M	21	29	48	2	0	0
818 F	19	26	48	4	1	2
1,872 M & F	20	28	48	3	0	1

TABLE 3: COMPARATIVE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	Yes	No
All Villages			
532 M	8	50	62
522 F	10	11	79
1,054 M & F	9	20	71
All Towns			
421 M	14	25	61
296 F	7	7	86
717 M & F	10	16	74
Reservation			
953 M	11	28	61
818 F	8	9	83
1,872 M & F	10	18	82

TABLE 4: COMPARATIVE DEGREE OF INDIAN BLOOD DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	Less than 1/4	1/2 - 3/4	3/4 - Full	White
All Villages					
532 M	9	15	43	29	4
522 F	6	9	45	38	2
1,054 M & F	8	12	43	34	3
All Towns					
421 M	4	30	54	10	2
296 F	4	37	53	6	0
717 M & F	4	34	53	8	1
Reservation					
953 M	6	23	48	20	3
818 F	5	23	49	22	1
1,872 M & F	6	23	48	21	2

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TABLE 5: COMPARATIVE INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	0-999	1000-1999	2000-2999	3000-3999	4000-4999	5000
All Villages							
532 M	62	12	11	6	6	2	1
522 F	80	11	6	2	1	0	0
1,054 M & F	71	12	8	4	4	1	0
All Towns							
421 M	71	9	8	6	3	1	2
296 F	93	4	2	1	0	0	0
717 M & F	82	7	5	4	1	0	1
Reservation							
953 M	67	10	10	6	4	1	2
818 F	87	7	4	2	0	0	0
1,872 M & F	77	10	6	4	3	0	0

TABLE 6: COMPARATIVE SOURCE OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	*	Non-Contributory	General Relief	Employment Earnings	Self Employed	Other
All Villages							
532 M	63	5	3	3	22	2	2
522 F	78	5	5	3	8	0	1
1,054 M & F	70	5	4	3	15	1	2
All Towns							
421 M	69	4	3	0	17	6	1
296 F	91	2	0	1	4	0	2
717 M & F	81	3	1	0	11	3	1
Reservation							
953 M	66	5	3	1	20	4	1
818 F	85	3	2	2	6	0	2
1,872 M & F	76	4	2	1	13	2	2

* Contributory Insurance, Social Security, Other Retirement Plans

TABLE 7: COMPARATIVE EDUCATION DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	0-5 yrs	5-8 yrs	9-10 yrs	11 yrs	12 yrs	13+
All Villages							
532 M	19	25	33	15	2	4	1
522 F	16	28	27	15	7	5	2
1,054 M & F	18	28	30	15	4	4	1
All Towns							
421 M	15	34	22	14	6	7	2
296 F	10	39	30	13	4	4	0
717 M & F	13	36	26	13	5	6	1
Reservation							
953 M	17	30	28	14	4	5	2
818 F	13	34	28	14	6	4	1
1,872 M & F	15	32	28	14	5	5	1

TABLE 8: COMPARATIVE JOB TITLE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	PTM	CS	SO	FFF	P	MT	BW	S	M
All Villages										
532 M	70	2	1	7	15	0	1	1	1	2
522 F	87	0	1	5	1	0	3	1	0	2
1,054 M & F	79	1	1	6	8	0	2	1	0	2
All Towns										
421 M	77	1	1	4	10	2	2	0	2	1
296 F	93	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	1
717 M & F	85	1	0	5	5	1	1	0	1	1
Reservation										
953 M	74	1	1	6	12	1	1	0	2	2
818 F	91	0	0	5	0	0	2	0	0	2
1,872 M & F	83	0	0	6	6	0	2	0	1	2

PTM = Professional, Technical, Managerial
CS = Clerical, Sales
SO = Service Occupation
FFF = Farm, Fish, Forestry
P = Processing
MT = Machines Trade
BW = Bench Work
S = Structural
M = Miscellaneous

TABLE 9: COMPARATIVE SKILL RATING DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	Much Training	Some Training Experience	In Training
All Villages				
532 M	82	9	9	0
522 F	93	4	3	0
1,054 M & F	88	6	6	0
All Towns				
421 M	85	9	6	0
296 F	95	1	4	0
717 M & F	90	5	5	0
Reservation				
953 M	84	9	7	0
818 F	94	3	3	0
1,872 M & F	89	6	5	0

TABLE 10: COMPARATIVE TRANSPORTATION IN FAMILY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	Yes	No
All Villages			
532 M	51	38	11
522 F	58	29	13
1,054 M & F	54	34	12
All Towns			
421 M	52	36	12
296 F	64	22	14
717 M & F	58	29	13
Reservation			
953 M	52	37	11
818 F	61	26	13
1,872 M & F	56	32	12

TABLE 11: COMPARATIVE RELIGIOUS CHOICE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGE AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	Catholic	Episcopal	Other Christian	Non-Affiliated
All Villages					
532 M	5	41	42	10	2
522 F	2	42	43	13	0
1,054 M & F	3	42	42	12	1
All Towns					
421 M	2	64	17	16	1
296 F	2	55	12	28	3
717 M & F	2	59	15	22	2
Reservation					
953 M	4	52	30	13	1
818 F	2	49	27	21	1
1,872 M & F	3	51	28	17	1

TABLE 12: COMPARATIVE VETERAN STATUS DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGERS AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	Yes	No
All Villages			
532 M	22	23	55
522 F	25	3	72
1,054 M & F	24	13	63
All Towns			
421 M	26	11	63
296 F	20	1	79
717 M & F	23	6	71
Reservation			
953 M	24	17	59
818 F	23	2	75
1,872 M & F	24	10	66

TABLE 13: COMPARATIVE PUBLIC HEALTH ELIGIBILITY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGE AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	Yes	No
All Villages			
532 M	6	56	38
522 F	7	55	38
1,054 M & F	7	56	37
All Towns			
421 M	3	52	45
296 F	4	44	52
717 M & F	4	48	48
Reservation			
953 M	5	54	41
818 F	6	50	44
1,872 M & F	6	52	42

TABLE 14: COMPARATIVE RECEPTION OF BENEFITS DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGE AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	Yes	No
All Villages			
532 M	29	11	60
522 F	30	12	58
1,054 M & F	30	11	59
All Towns			
421 M	38	7	55
296 F	34	4	62
717 M & F	36	6	58
Reservation			
953 M	34	9	57
818 F	32	8	60
1,872 M & F	33	8	59

TABLE 15: COMPARATIVE LAND TENANCY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGE AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	Own	Rent	Tribal Land	Other
All Villages					
532 M	70	9	6	10	5
522 F	87	5	2	5	1
1,054 M & F	78	7	4	8	3
All Towns					
421 M	75	10	7	6	2
296 F	94	4	0	2	0
717 M & F	85	7	3	4	1
Reservation					
953 M	73	10	6	8	3
818 F	91	5	1	3	0
1,872 M & F	82	7	3	6	2

TABLE 16: COMPARATIVE HOUSING QUALITY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGE AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	Standard	Sub-Standard	Non-Rated
All Villages				
532 M	72	6	21	1
522 F	91	2	6	1
1,054 M & F	81	4	14	1
All Towns				
421 M	74	8	17	1
296 F	92	4	4	0
717 M & F	83	6	11	0
Reservation				
953 M	73	7	19	1
818 F	92	3	5	0
1,872 M & F	82	5	12	1

TABLE 17: COMPARATIVE HEATING SYSTEM DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGE AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	Wood	Oil	Gas
All Villages				
532 M	70	21	8	1
522 F	88	10	2	0
1,054 M & F	79	16	5	0
All Towns				
421 M	74	15	9	2
296 F	92	3	4	1
717 M & F	83	9	7	1
Reservation				
953 M	72	18	8	2
818 F	90	6	3	1
1,872 M & F	81	13	6	0

TABLE 18: COMPARATIVE TOILET TYPE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE VILLAGE AND TOWN DWELLERS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	Flush Toilet	Privy
All Villages			
532 M	71	7	22
522 F	87	2	11
1,054 M & F	79	5	16
All Towns			
421 M	76	9	15
296 F	94	2	4
717 M & F	85	6	9
Reservation			
953 M	74	8	18
818 F	91	2	7
1,872 M & F	82	5	13

APPENDIX V

INDIAN MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY

TABLE 1: PUBLIC HEALTH ELIBIBILITY OF INDIAN MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		Yes	No
0-5	182 M	68%	32%
	183 F	74	26
6-13	206 M	79	21
	241 F	75	25
14-19	121 M	81	19
	113 F	69	31
20-25	40 M	97	3
	59 F	76	24
26-35	66 M	98	2
	78 F	85	15
36-45	59 M	95	5
	52 F	83	17
46-55	60 M	98	2
	50 F	84	16
56-65	39 M	87	13
	30 F	83	17
65 up	33 M	79	21
	41 F	71	29

TABLE 2: DEGREE OF INDIAN BLOOD IN INDIAN MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		-¼	¼ to ½	½ to 3/4	3/4 to full
0-5	176 M	26%	45%	2%	27%
	183 F	22	52	4	22
6-13	206 M	23	43	7	27
	241 F	22	51	5	22
14-19	121 M	18	49	7	26
	113 F	19	47	10	24
20-25	40 M	22	45	3	30
	59 F	15	46	2	37
26-35	66 M	15	39	2	44
	78 F	17	38	1	44
36-45	59 M	17	41	12	30
	52 F	10	48	2	40
46-55	60 M	22	40	0	38
	50 F	22	24	6	48
56-65	39 M	13	44	2	41
	30 F	27	33	0	40
65 up	32 M	16	44	0	40
	41	10	34	2	54

TABLE 3: RELIGION OF INDIAN MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		Cath.	Eps.	Others	Chris.	No. Afil.
0-5	176 M	51%	31%	18%		0
	183 F	43	34	21		2
6-13	206 M	52	32	16		0
	241 F	56	28	16		0
14-19	121 M	58	27	13		2
	113 F	63	20	17		0
20-25	40 M	48	32	20		0
	59 F	32	46	22		0
26-35	66 M	50	39	9		2
	78 F	56	30	14		0
36-45	59 M	44	37	17		2
	52 F	56	34	10		0
46-55	60 M	50	37	8		5
	50 F	76	6	16		2
56-65	39 M	69	21	5		5
	30 F	73	20	7		0
65 up	32 M	53	34	10		3
	41 F	56	34	10		0

TABLE 4: EDUCATION OF INDIAN MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

		Education (in years)					
Years		0-5	5-8	8-10	11	12	13
0-5	182 M	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	183 F	100	0	0	0	0	0
6-13	206 M	71	29	0	0	0	0
	241 F	63	37	0	0	0	0
14-19	121 M	0	30	51	12	7	0
	113 F	0	26	50	21	2	1
20-25	40 M	2	17	48	8	20	5
	59 F	0	0	54	17	22	7
26-35	65 M	0	38	31	1	22	8
	78 F	0	30	24	14	22	10
36-45	59 M	5	65	15	2	10	3
	52 F	0	52	27	10	11	0
46-55	60 M	7	67	15	8	2	1
	50 F	2	50	30	4	12	2
56-65	39 M	18	78	2	0	2	0
	29 F	14	48	17	7	7	7
65 up	32 M	47	50	3	0	0	0
	41 F	27	59	5	5	2	2

TABLE 5: C.A.P. PARTICIPATION OF INDIAN MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		Yes	No
0-5	182 M	10%	90%
	181 F	10	90
6-13	206 M	36	64
	241 F	37	63
14-19	62 M	60	40
	47 F	68	32
20-25	40 M	48	52
	59 F	39	61
26-35	66 M	42	58
	78 F	41	59
36-45	59 M	42	58
	52 F	27	
46-55	60 M	38	62
	50 F	34	66
56-65	39 M	36	64
	30 F	37	63
65 up	33 M	15	85
	41 F	27	73

TABLE 6: MARITAL STATUS OF INDIAN MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		U	S	M	W	D	C
0-5	182 M						
	183 F						
6-13	206 M						
	241 F						
14-19	121 M	0%	97%	3%	0%	0%	0%
	113 F	4	88	8	0	0	0
20-25	40 M	0	65	33	0	0	2
	59 F	25	13	51	2	2	7
26-35	66 M	0	23	76	0	0	1
	78 F	4	2	85	1	4	4
36-45	59 M	1	25	68	3	3	0
	52 F	2	3	83	4	4	4
46-55	60 M	0	18	75	3	4	0
	50 F	0	2	82	10	4	2
56-65	39 M	0	13	82	2	3	0
	30 F	0	0	80	20	0	0
65 up	32 M	0	9	66	25	0	0
	41 F	0	7	32	56	0	5

TABLE 7: HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

INDIAN MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		Yes	No
0-5	182 M		
	183 F		
6-13	206 M		
	241 F		
14-19	121 M	2%	98%
	113 F		
20-25	40 M	25	75
	59 F	12	88
26-35	63 M	73	27
	78 F	10	90
36-45	59 M	73	27
	52 F	12	88
46-55	59 M	80	20
	50 F	18	82
56-65	35 M	97	3
	30 F	20	80
65 up	31 M	90	10
	41 F	51	49

TABLE 8: INCOME OF INDIAN MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		0 to 999	1,000 to 1,999	2,000 to 2,999	3,000 to 3,999	4,000 to 4,999	over 5,000
0-5	182 M						
	183 F						
6-13	206 M						
	241 F	.4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
14-19	21 M	52	48	0	0	0	0
	8 F	50	38	12	0	0	0
20-25	29 M	24	31	35	0	10	0
	21 F	48	28	14	10	0	0
26-35	66 M	21	36	15	15	8	5
	37 F	38	19	32	8	0	3
36-45	58 M	21	24	15	17	9	14
	25 F	52	20	8	16	4	0
46-55	59 M	29	34	14	12	3	8
	22 F	41	45	14	0	0	0
56-65	37 M	43	19	22	8	5	3
	16 F	44	25	6	13	6	6
65 up	32 M	50	44	6	0	0	0
	36 F	58	36	6	0	0	0

TABLE 9: SOURCE OF INCOME FOR INDIAN MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		Cont. Ins.	Non Cont. Ins.	G.R.	Self Emp.	Emp. Earn.	Other
0-5	182 M						
	183 F						
6-13	206 M						
	1 F	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
14-19	21 M	0	0	0	0	100	0
	8 F	0	25	12	0	63	0
20-25	29 M	0	0	0	3	97	0
	24 F	4	42	8	0	42	4
26-35	69 M	0	3	3	9	84	1
	35 F	3	37	3	6	46	5
36-45	62 M	2	10	0	8	77	3
	23 F	0	26	3	4	65	0
46-55	65 M	0	11	5	12	72	0
	24 F	17	33	4	0	38	8
56-65	44 M	23	14	9	9	45	0
	21 F	29	5	9	5	52	0
65 up	56 M	46	40	0	2	12	0
	58 F	50	43	0	0	5	2

TABLE 10: JOB TITLE OF INDIAN MALES AND FEMALES,

BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
0-5	182 M									
	183 F									
6-13	206 M									
	241 F									
14-19	21 M	0%	0%	47%	38%	0%	0%	5%	5%	5%
	5 F	0	0	80	0	0	20	0	0	0
20-25	29 M	4	0	14	48	7	3	0	17	7
	12 F	8	25	34	0	0	25	8	0	0
26-35	64 M	6	1	19	50	2	11	0	5	6
	21 F	14	29	52	0	0	5	0	0	0
36-45	54 M	2	0	26	39	5	13	0	9	6
	15 F	7	0	47	0	20	7	6	0	13
46-55	54 M	4	0	24	57	4	0	4	7	0
	12 F	0	17	41	0	25	0	17	0	0
56-65	23 M	13	0	26	26	0	0	0	22	13
	12 F	17	0	83	0	0	0	0	0	0
65 up	8 M	30	0	38	62	0	0	0	0	0
	41 F	0	0	5	0	0	0	0		

PART IV: WHITE MALE AND FEMALE DATA, BY AGE CATEGORY

Sampling Methods: Universal (Indian)
Stratified Universal (White)

APPENDIX VI

WHITE MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY

TABLE 1: PUBLIC HEALTH ELIGIBILITY OF WHITE MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		Yes	No
0-5	49 M	0%	100%
	58 F	0	100
6-13	100 M	0	100
	94 F	0	100
14-19	71 M	0	100
	55 F	0	100
20-25	22 M	0	100
	19 F	37	63
26-35	46 M	0	100
	38 F	13	87
36-45	53 M	0	100
	55 F	9	91
46-55	52 M	0	100
	53 F	19	81
56-64	53 M	0	100
	33 F	3	97
65 up	51 M	0	100
	48 F	4	96

TABLE 2: RELIGION OF WHITE MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		Cath.	Eps.	Other Chris.	No Afil.
0-5	49 M	63%	0%	33%	4%
	58 F	59	0	33	8
6-13	100 M	64	0	35	1
	94 F	49	0	46	5
14-19	71 M	53	0	41	6
	55 F	55	0	43	2
20-25	22 M	68	5	23	4
	19 F	58	10	32	0
26-35	46 M	44	2	43	11
	38 F	55	3	34	8
36-45	53 M	43	0	49	8
	55 F	47	2	47	4
46-55	52 M	50	4	46	0
	53 F	43	6	45	6
56-64	53 M	47	5	38	10
	33 F	55	0	33	12
65 up	50 M	34	0	56	10
	47 F	36	2	60	2

TABLE 3: EDUCATION OF WHITE MALES AND FEMALES
BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		0-5	5-8	8-10	11	12	13
0-5	49 M	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	58 F	100	0	0	0	0	0
6-13	100 M	65	35	0	0	0	0
	94 F	64	36	0	0	0	0
14-19	71 M	2	21	32	23	18	4
	55 F	2	24	42	9	18	5
20-25	22 M.	5	9	18	5	45	18
	19 F	0	0	5	5	58	32
26-35	46 M	2	28	23	7	33	7
	38 F	0	18	8	5	58	11
36-45	53 M	2	51	17	5	17	8
	55 F	0	29	15	7	36	13
46-55	51 M	4	70	2	2	18	4
	51 F	4	55	8	6	21	6
56-64	51 M	6	74	10	0	2	8
	33 F	3	70	3	0	15	9
65 up	51 M	22	72	0	2	2	2
	48 F	15	67	6	0	6	6

TABLE 4: C.A.P. PARTICIPATION OF WHITE MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		Yes	No
0-5	49 M	6%	94%
	58 F	5	95
6-13	100 M	13	87
	94 F	10	90
14-19	70 M	10	90
	55 F	7	93
20-25	22 M	14	86
	19 F	26	74
26-35	46 M	11	89
	38 F	3	97
36-45	53 M	6	94
	55 F	11	89
46-55	52 M	12	88
	53 F	0	100
56-64	53 M	4	96
	33 F	0	100
65 up	51 M	0	100
	48 F	0	100

TABLE 5: MARITAL STATUS OF WHITE MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		U	S	M	W	D	C
0-5	48 M	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	58 F	0	100	0	0	0	0
6-13	100 M						
	94 F	0	100	0	0	0	0
14-19	71 M		97				
	55 F	0	96	4	0	0	0
20-25	22 M	0	64	36	0	0	0
	19 F	5	21	74	0	0	0
26-35	45 M	0	16	82	2	0	0
	38 F	0	0	100	0	0	0
36-45	53 M	0	11	89	0	0	0
	55 F	0	0	95	5	0	0
46-55	52 M	0	8	90	2	0	0
	53 F	0	2	88	8	2	0
56-64	53 M	0	10	83	4	3	0
	33 F	0	6	79	15	0	0
65 up	51 M	0	8	86	6	0	0
	48 F	0	4	65	31	0	0

TABLE 6: HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

WHITE MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		Yes	No
0-5	49 M	0%	100%
	58 F	0	100
6-13	100 M	0	100
	94 F	0	100
14-19	71 M	0	100
	55 F		
20-25	22 M	32	68
	19 F	0	100
26-35	48 M	77	23
	38 F	0	100
36-45	52 M	89	11
	55 F	5	95
46-55	52 M	98	2
	52 F	8	92
56-64	53 M	92	8
	53 F	24	76
65 up	50 M	94	6
	48 F	19	81

TABLE 7: INCOME OF WHITE MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		0 to 999	1,000 to 1,999	2,000 to 2,999	3,000 to 3,999	4,000 to 4,999	over 5,000
0-5	49 M						
	58 F						
6-13	100 M						
	94 F						
14-19	11 M	91%	9%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	5 F	40	20	40	0	0	0
20-25	17 M	0	41	17	12	18	12
	9 F	45	11	22	0	22	0
26-35	44 M	4	9	16	23	25	23
	5 F	40	0	60	0	0	0
36-45	52 M	2	9	13	35	9	31
	11 F	0	18	37	36	0	9
46-55	52 M	4	18	15	23	27	13
	17 F	24	12	35	18	0	11
56-64	53 M	11	17	30	17	15	10
	8	50	38	0	12	0	0
65 up	51 M	33	39	16	8	0	4
	27 F	67	22	11	0	0	0

TABLE 8: SOURCE OF INCOME OF WHITE MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		Cont. Ins.	Non Cont. Ins.	G.R.	Self Emp.	Emp Earn.	Other
0-5	49 M						
	58 F						
6-13	100 M						
	94 F						
14-19	71 M						
	55 F						
20-25	17 M	0	0	0	6	94	0
	8 F	0	12	0	0	88	0
26-35	44 M	0	0	0	34	66	0
	5 F	0	0	0	0	100	0
36-45	53 M	0	2	0	41	57	0
	15 F	20	20	0	7	53	0
46-55	56 M	3	5	2	48	40	2
	18 F	11	0	0	22	67	0
56-64	62 M	11	6	0	39	42	2
	33 F	60	20	0	0	20	0
65 up	67 M	64	22	2	10	0	2
	34 F	68	26	0	3	3	0

TABLE 9: JOB TITLE OF WHITE MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
0-5	49 M									
	58 F									
6-13	100 M									
	94 F									
14-19	11 M	0%	9%	0%	55%	0%	0%	9%	9%	18%
	5 F	20	40	0	0	20	0	20	0	0
20-25	17 M	6	6	41	6	0	17	0	18	6
	7 F	13	29	29	0	29	0	0	0	0
26-35	44 M	16	2	20	30	7	7	0	16	2
	5 F	0	0	80	0	20	0	0	0	0
36-45	53 M	11	4	19	40	5	5	0	11	5
	10 F	40	0	40	20	0	0	0	0	0
46-55	49 M	18	2	6	37	4	4	0	21	8
	15 F	20	6	47	0	27	0	0	0	0
56-64	45 M	29	4	5	33	2	11	0	11	5
	2 F	0	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	50
65 up	10 M	10	0	10	80	0	0	0	0	0
	3 F	0	0	33	33	0	0	0	0	34

TABLE 10: SKILL RATING OF WHITE MALES AND FEMALES, BY AGE CATEGORY (PERCENTAGES)

Years		1	2	3
0-5	49 M			
	58 F			
6-13	100 M			
	94 F			
14-19	51 M	0%	16%	84%
	55 F			
20-25	17 M	24%	41	35
	8 F	0	62	38
26-35	42 M	19	81	0
	6 F	17	83	0
36-45	53 M	19	79	2
	8 F	25	75	0
46-55	50 M	24	74	2
	13 F	15	85	0
56-64	43 M	9	91	0
	3 F	0	100	0
65 up	9 M	0	100	0
	4	25	75	0

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VOLUME 5

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Public Education On A
Minnesota Chippewa Reservation

Final Report
On
Cooperative Research #7-8138

To
United States Office
Of
Education

Sponsored
By
The University of Kansas

Conducted
By
Arthur M. Harkins

Under The Supervision
Of
Professor Rosalie H. Wax

May 31, 1968

Volume 5

Appendices

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APPENDIX VII

INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

TABLE 1: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	16 & below	17- 21	22 - 40	41 - 65	66 & above
Indian						
225M	4	0	4	39	44	9
74F	0	0	9	28	35	28
299Avg	2	0	6	33	40	18
White						
194M	0	0	0	29	51	20
25F	8	0	0	8	60	24
219Avg	4	0	0	18	56	22
Both	3	0	3	26	48	20

TABLE 2: MARITAL STATUS DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Married	Single	Widowed	Divorced	Unwed Mother
Indian						
225M	1	86	8	4	1	0
74F	12	15	9	44	8	12
299Avg	7	50	9	24	4	6
White						
194M	0	91	5	3	1	0
25F	4	12	16	68	0	0
219Avg	2	52	10	34	1	0
Both	4	51	10	29	3	3

TABLE 3: DEGREE OF INDIAN BLOOD DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

Indian	N. A.	Less than 1/4	1/2 - 3/4	3/4 - Full	White
225M	2	19	40	30	9
74F	12	14	24	47	3
299Avg	7	17	32	38	6

TABLE 4: INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N.A.	0-999	1000-1999	2000-2999	3000-3999	4000-49999	Over 5000
Indian							
225M	10	23	23	16	14	7	7
74F	26	28	32	8	5	0	1
299Avg	18	25	28	12	10	3	4
White							
194M	10	7	17	16	19	13	18
25F	4	28	32	24	12	0	0
219Avg	7	18	25	20	15	6	9
Both	13	22	27	16	12	4	6

TABLE 5: SOURCE OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	*	Non-Contributory	General Relief	Employment Earnings	Self-Employed	Other
Indian							
225M	7	15	4	4	55	9	6
74F	22	27	22	11	11	1	6
299Avg	14	21	13	8	33	5	6
White							
194M	11	21	3	2	32	30	1
25F	8	56	4	0	16	12	0
219Avg	10	39	4	1	24	21	1
Both	12	30	8	4	30	13	3

* Contributory Insurance Social Security, other retirement plans

TABLE 6: EDUCATION DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	0 - 5	5 - 8	9 - 10	11	12	13 plus
Indian							
225M	4	10	49	18	6	10	3
74F	9	8	47	22	5	4	5
299Avg	7	9	47	20	6	7	4
White							
194M	1	6	63	9	3	12	6
25F	0	4	52	12	4	16	12
219Avg	1	5	58	10	3	14	9
Both	4	7	53	15	4	11	6

TABLE 7: JOB TITLE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	PTM	CS	SO	FFF	P	MT	BW	S	M
Indian										
225M	30	5	2	16	28	2	4	3	4	6
74F	65	1	1	12	5	0	5	3	1	7
299Avg	48	3	1	14	16	1	4	3	3	7
White										
194M	32	8	2	14	25	2	5	0	6	6
25F	52	8	4	24	8	0	0	0	0	4
219Avg	42	8	3	19	17	1	2	0	3	5
Both	45	6	2	17	16	1	3	1	3	6

KEY:

PTM: Professional, Technical, Managerial

CS: Clerical, Sales

SO: Service Occupation

FFF: Farm, Fish, Forestry

P: Processing

MT: Machines trade

BW: Bench work

S: Structural

M: Miscellaneous

TABLE 8: SKILL RATING DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Some Training	Some Training or Experience	In Training
Indian				
225M	51	28	20	1
74F	75	11	14	0
299Avg	63	19	17	1
White				
194M	27	39	32	2
25F	24	12	60	4
219Avg	25	26	46	3
Both	44	22	32	2

TABLE 9: TRANSPORTATION IN FAMILY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Yes	No
Indian			
225M	5	76	19
74F	15	32	53
299Avg	10	54	36
White			
194M	3	98	4
25F	0	60	40
219Avg	2	76	22
Both	6	65	29

TABLE 10: RELIGIOUS CHOICE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Catholic	Episcopal	Other Christian	Non-Affil
Indian					
225M	1	52	27	16	4
74F	7	51	32	9	1
299Avg	4	52	30	12	2
White					
194M	0	46	2	44	8
25F	0	44	8	40	8
219Avg	0	45	5	42	8
Both	2	48	18	27	5

TABLE 11: VETERAN STATUS DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Yes	No
Indian			
225M	3	46	51
74F	16	5	79
299Avg	9	26	65
White			
194M	6	34	60
25F	28	4	68
219Avg	17	19	64
Both	13	23	64

TABLE 12: PUBLIC HEALTH ELIGIBILITY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Yes	No
Indian			
225M	4	75	21
74F	3	62	35
299Avg	4	68	28
White			
194M	4	6	92
25F	4	16	80
219Avg	4	10	86
Both	4	39	57

TABLE 13: RECPTION OF BENEFITS (SOCIAL SECURITY) DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Yes	No
Indian			
225M	16	16	68
74F	7	39	54
299Avg	11	28	61
White			
194M	29	23	48
25F	16	56	28
219Avg	23	39	38
Both	17	33	50

TABLE 14: AGED/HANDICAPPED DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	65 and Non-Ambulatory
Indian		
225M	97	3
74F	95	5
299Avg	96	4
White		
194M	98	2
25F	100	0
219Avg	99	1
Both	98	2

TABLE 15: LAND TENANCY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Own	Rent	Tribal Land	Other
Indian					
225M	7	33	18	28	14
74F	20	24	13	38	5
299Avg	13	28	16	33	10
White					
194M	4	86	5	2	3
25F	0	84	8	0	8
219Avg	2	85	7	1	5
Both	7	57	12	17	7

TABLE 16: HOUSING QUALITY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Standard	Sub-Standard	Non-Rated
Indian				
225M	12	23	60	5
74F	31	11	58	0
299Avg	22	17	59	2
White				
194M	7	39	47	7
25F	4	56	32	8
219Avg	6	48	39	7
Both	14	32	49	5

TABLE 17: WATER SYSTEM DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Water System	Own Well	Other	None
Indian					
225M	10	27	28	6	29
74F	22	12	28	5	33
299Avg	16	19	28	6	31
White					
194M	10	61	25	1	3
25F	0	60	36	0	4
219Avg	5	60	30	1	4
Both	11	40	29	3	17

TABLE 18: HEATING DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Wood	Oil	Gas
Indian				
225M	8	60	26	6
74F	22	55	21	1
299Avg	15	58	24	3
White				
194M	5	52	35	8
74F	0	40	48	12
219Avg	2	46	42	10
Both	9	52	33	6

TABLE 19: ELECTRICITY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Yes	No
Indian			
225M	36	63	1
74F	57	43	0
299Avg	46	53	1
White			
194M	7	92	1
25F	4	96	0
219Avg	3	96	1
Both	24	75	1

TABLE 20: TOILET TYPE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (PERCENTAGES)

	N. A.	Toilet (Flush)	Privy
Indian			
225M	11	26	63
74F	22	12	66
299Avg	16	19	65
White			
194M	6	62	32
25F	0	72	28
219Avg	3	67	30
Both	10	43	47

APPENDIX VIII

INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION

TABLE 1: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	16 & Below	17 - 21	22 - 40	41 - 65	66 +
0-5	23 M	4	0	0	9	57	30
	6 F*	0	0	0	0	0	6
5-8	118 M	6	0	1	29	54	10
	41 F	0	0	7	20	45	28
	159 Avg	3	0	4	25	49	19
9-10	40 M	3	0	15	57	22	3
	17 F	0	0	12	65	23	0
	57 Avg	2	0	13	61	22	2
11	13 M*	0	0	3	3	7	0
	4 F*	0	0	1	1	1	1
12	22 M	0	0	0	82	18	0
	3 F*	0	0	0	1	1	1
13+	8 M*	0	0	0	6	2	0
	4 F*	0	0	0	1	2	1

TABLE 2: MARITAL STATUS DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	Married	Single	Widowed	Divorced	Unwed Mother
0-5	23 M	0	83	9	4	4	0
	6 F*	0	0	0	6	0	0
5-8	118 M	1	86	8	5	0	0
	41 F	22	5	15	43	10	5
	159 Avg	11	45	12	24	5	3
9-10	40 M	0	85	12	0	3	0
	17 F	0	35	0	24	0	41
	57 Avg	0	60	6	12	1	21
11	13 M*	1	11	0	1	0	0
	4 F*	0	2	0	2	0	0
12	22 M	0	96	4	0	0	0
	3 F*	0	1	0	1	1	0
13+	8 M*	0	7	0	1	0	0
	4 F*	0	1	1	1	1	0

TABLE 3: RECPTION OF BENEFITS DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	Yes	No
0-5	23 M	13	39	48
	6 F*	0	4	2
5-8	118 M	15	20	65
	41 F	5	41	54
	159 Avg	10	30	60
9-10	40 M	18	8	74
	17 F	12	12	76
	57 Avg	15	10	75
11	13 M*	4	0	9
	4 F*	1	2	1
12	22 M	14	0	86
	3 F*	0	2	1
13+	8 M*	0	0	8
	4 F*	1	2	1

TABLE 4: RELIGIOUS CHOICE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	Catholic	Episcopal	Other Christian	Non-Affiliated
0-5	23 M	0	57	22	9	12
	6 F*	0	5	1	0	0
5-8	118 M	2	51	33	10	4
	41 F	12	39	39	10	0
	159 Avg	7	46	35	10	2
9-10	40 M	0	52	30	18	0
	17 F	0	58	24	18	0
	57 Avg	0	55	27	18	0
11	13 M*	0	6	3	4	0
	4 F*	0	2	2	0	0
12	22 M	0	63	14	23	0
	3 F*	0	1	1	1	0
13+	8 M*	0	4	1	2	1
	4 F*	0	3	0	0	0

TABLE 5: VETERAN STATUS DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	Yes	No
0-5	23 M	0	17	83
	6 F*	1	0	5
5-8	118 M	3	47	50
	41 F	12	5	83
	159 Avg	7	26	67
9-10	40 M	0	53	47
	17 F	24	18	58
	57 Avg	12	36	52
11	13 M*	2	5	6
	4 F*	2	0	2
12	22 M	4	46	50
	3 F*	0	0	3
13+	8 M*	0	6	2
	4 F*	0	0	4

TABLE 6: PUBLIC HEALTH ELIGIBILITY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	Yes	No
0-5	23 M	9	74	17
	6 F*	0	2	4
5-8	118 M	5	74	21
	41 F	3	57	40
	159 Avg	4	66	30
9-10	40 M	0	80	20
	17 F	0	76	24
	57 Avg	0	78	22
11	13 M*	0	9	4
	4 F*	0	4	0
12	22 M	14	72	14
	3 F*	0	2	1
13+	8 M*	0	6	2
	4 F*	1	1	2

TABLE 7: DEGREE OF INDIAN BLOOD DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N. A.	Less than 1/4	1/2 - 3/4	3/4 - Full	White
0-5	23 M	9	74	17	0	0
	6 F*	1	0	0	0	5
5-8	118 M	3	14	42	36	5
	41 F	17	15	20	46	2
	159 Avg	10	15	31	41	3
9-10	40 M	0	25	40	25	10
	17 F	0	18	29	47	6
	57 Avg	0	21	35	36	8
11	13 M*	0	0	5	4	4
	4 F*	0	0	3	1	0
12	22 M	0	40	46	4	10
	3 F*	0	0	1	2	0
13+	8 M*	1	4	2	0	1
	4 F*	1	1	1	0	1

TABLE 8: AGED/HANDICAPPED DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	65 & Non-Ambulatory
0-5	23 M	91	9
	6 F*	6	0
5-8	118 M	92	8
	41 F	89	11
	159 Avg	91	9
9-10	40 M	97	3
	17 F	100	0
	57 Avg	99	1
11	13 M*	13	0
	4 F*	4	0
12	22 M	100	0
	3 F*	3	0
13+	8 M*	8	0
	4 F*	4	0

TABLE 9: TRANSPORTATION IN FAMILY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	Yes	No
0-5	23 M	9	69	22
	6 F*	1	1	4
5-8	118 M	6	75	19
	41 F	17	24	59
	159 Avg	11	50	39
9-10	40 M	5	65	30
	17 F	6	53	41
	57 Avg	5	59	36
11	13 M*	0	12	1
	4 F*	1	1	2
12	22 M	0	91	9
	3 F*	0	2	1
13+	8 M*	1	7	0
	4 F*	1	2	1

TABLE 10: INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	0-999	1000-1999	2000-2999	3000-3999,	4000-4999	Over 5000
0-5	23 M	4	40	30	17	9	0	0
	6 F*	0	3	3	0	0	0	0
5-8	118 M	9	25	28	17	10	7	4
	41 F	27	29	29	7	8	0	0
	159 Avg	18	27	28	12	9	4	2
9-10	40 M	17	25	17	13	20	3	5
	17 F	24	24	28	18	6	0	0
	57 Avg	20	25	23	16	13	1	2
11	13 M*	1	2	2	3	3	1	1
	4 F*	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
12	22 M	9	4	9	13	23	23	19
	3 F*	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
13+	8 M*	1	0	0	1	1	1	4
	4 F*	1	0	2	0	0	0	1

TABLE 11: SOURCE OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	*	Non-Contributory	General Relief	Employment Earnings	Self-Employed	**
0-5	23 M	9	30	4	0	30	18	9
	6 F*	0	4	2	0	0	0	0
5-8	118 M	6	19	7	8	48	7	5
	41 F	27	24	20	17	7	33	2
	159 Avg	17	21	14	8	22	5	3
9-10	40 M	8	10	2	2	68	2	8
	17 F	18	12	24	6	28	0	12
	57 Avg	13	11	13	4	48	1	10
11	13 M*	0	0	0	0	11	2	0
	4 F*	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
12	22 M	9	4	9	13	23	23	19
	3 F*	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
13+	8 M*	1	1	0	0	5	1	0
	4 F*	0	1	1	0	1	0	1

* Contributory Insurance, Social Security, Other Retirement Plans
** Other Sources

TABLE 12: JOB TITLE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	PTM	CS	SO	FFF	P	MT	BW	S	M
0-5	23 M	39	0	0	4	40	4	0	0	4	9
	6 F*	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
5-8	118 M	35	5	1	18	24	1	6	1	3	6
	41 F	63	0	0	14	8	0	8	2	0	5
	159 Avg	49	3	1	16	16	1	7	1	1	5
9-10	40 M	30	0	3	13	31	3	3	3	8	6
	17 F	70	0	0	12	12	0	0	0	6	0
	57 Avg	50	0	1	12	21	2	2	2	7	3
11	13 M*	0	1	0	4	6	0	0	1	1	0
	4 F*	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	22 M	22	9	9	30	13	0	4	0	4	9
	3 F*	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
13+	8 M*	1	3	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
	4 F*	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

PTM = Professional, Technical, Managerial
CS = Clerical, Sales
SO = Service Occupation
FFF = Farm, Fish, Forestry
P = Processing

MT = Machines Trade
BW = Bench Work
S = Structural
M = Miscellaneous

TABLE 13: SKILL RATING DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N. A.	Much Training	Some Training Or Experience	In Training
0-5	23 M	74	22	4	0
	6 F	5	1	0	0
5-8	118 M	54	24	21	1
	41 F	73	10	17	0
	159 Avg	63	17	19	1
9-10	40 M	53	33	14	0
	17 F	88	6	6	0
	57 Avg	70	20	10	0
11	13 M*	6	4	3	0
	4 F*	3	1	0	0
12	22 M	13	36	51	0
	3 F*	2	0	1	0
13+	8 M*	4	3	0	1
	4 F*	1	2	1	0

TABLE 14: HOUSING QUALITY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	Standard	Sub-Standard	Non-Rated
0-5	23 M	9	9	78	4
	6 F*	2	0	4	0
5-8	118 M	13	17	64	6
	41 F	27	12	61	0
	159 Avg	20	15	62	3
9-10	40 M	15	20	57	8
	17 F	41	6	53	0
	57 Avg	28	13	55	4
11	13 M*	3	5	5	0
	4 F*	1	2	1	0
12	22 M	0	50	50	0
	3 F*	2	0	1	0
13+	8 M*	1	5	1	1
	4 F*	1	0	3	0

TABLE 15: WATER SYSTEM DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	Water System	Own Well	Other	None
0-5	23 M	4	13	30	17	36
	6 F*	0	0	3	2	1
5-8	118 M	9	21	31	4	35
	41 F	20	10	34	0	36
	159 Avg	15	15	32	2	36
9-10	40 M	8	30	27	10	25
	17 F	35	6	18	12	29
	57 Avg	21	18	23	11	27
11	13 M*	3	5	2	0	3
	4 F*	1	2	0	0	1
12	22 M	9	54	18	0	19
	3 F*	1	2	0	0	0
13+	8 M*	1	4	2	1	0
	4 F*	1	0	1	0	2

TABLE 16: TOILET TYPE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	Toilet (Flush)	Privy
0-5	23 M	13	4	83
	6 F*	0	1	5
5-8	118 M	10	19	71
	41 F	22	5	73
	159 Avg	16	12	72
9-10	40 M	13	28	59
	17 F	29	12	59
	57 Avg	21	20	59
11	13 M*	2	5	6
	4 F*	1	2	1
12	22 M	0	64	36
	3 F*	1	2	0
13+	8 M*	1	5	2
	4 F*	1	0	3

TABLE 17: LAND TENANCY DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	Own	Rent	Tribal Land	Other
0-5	23 M	4	31	26	26	13
	6 F*	0	2	0	3	1
5-8	118 M	7	36	13	32	12
	41 F	22	32	10	34	2
	159 Avg	14	34	12	33	7
9-10	40 M	5	18	23	31	23
	17 F	24	0	29	41	6
	57 Avg	15	9	26	36	14
11	13 M*	2	2	3	2	4
	4 F*	1	1	0	2	0
12	22 M	0	60	31	9	0
	3 F*	1	1	0	1	0
13+	8 M*	1	4	1	0	2
	4 F*	1	1	1	0	1

TABLE 18: HEATING SYSTEM DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN MALE AND FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)*

Education (Years)		N.A.	Wood	Oil	Gas
0-5	23 M	4	87	9	0
	6 F*	0	5	1	0
5-8	118 M	10	65	20	5
	41 F	24	54	20	2
	159 Avg	17	60	20	3
9-10	40 M	5	62	25	8
	17 F	24	47	29	0
	57 Avg	14	55	27	4
11	13 M*	2	5	5	1
	4 F*	1	2	1	0
12	22 M	0	37	59	4
	3 F*	1	2	0	0
13+	8 M*	1	1	5	1
	4 F*	1	2	1	0

APPENDIX IX

INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' COMMUNITY ATTITUDES

TABLE 1: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: COMMUNITY SPIRIT (PERCENTAGES)

"A lot of people here think they are too good for you."

	(113) Indian	(453) White
True	(53) 43%	(140) 31%
Undecided	(13) 19	(50) 11
Untrue	(47) 38	(263) 58
	100%	100%

TABLE 2: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: COMMUNITY SPIRIT (PERCENTAGES)

"People won't work together to get things done for the community."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(66)	58 %	(154)	34 %
Undecided	(13)	12	(95)	21
Untrue	(34)	30	(204)	45
		100%		100%

TABLE 3: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:
COMMUNITY SPIRIT (PERCENTAGES)

"The community tries hard to help its young people along."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(53)	47%	(190)	42%
Undecided	(24)	21	(104)	23
Untrue	(36)	32	(159)	35
		100%		100%

TABLE 4: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: COMMUNITY SPIRIT (PERCENTAGES)

"The young people as a whole mind their business."

	(113) Indian		(453) White	
True	(50)	44%	(290)	64 %
Undecided	(17)	15	(68)	15
Untrue	(46)	41	(95)	21
		100%		100%

TABLE 5: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:

COMMUNITY SPIRIT (PERCENTAGES)

"No one seems to care much how the community looks."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(44)	39%	(45)	10%
Undecided	(20)	17	(64)	14
Untrue	(49)	44	(344)	76
		100%		100%

TABLE 6: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS (PERCENTAGES)

"Real friends are hard to find in this community."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(50)	44%	(113)	25%
Undecided	(16)	14	(41)	9
Untrue	(47)	42	(299)	66
		100%		100%

TABLE 7: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS (PERCENTAGES)

"Almost everyone is polite and courteous with you."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(71)	63%	(372)	82%
Undecided	(16)	14	(36)	8
Untrue	(26)	23	(45)	10
		100%		100%

TABLE 8: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:
INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS (PERCENTAGES)

"People give you a bad name if you insist on being different."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(71)	63%	(154)	34%
Undecided	(16)	14	(100)	22
Untrue	(26)	23	(199)	44
		100%		100%

TABLE 9: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS (PERCENTAGES)

"I feel very much that I belong here."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(77)	68%	(317)	70%
Undecided	(23)	20	(95)	21
Untrue	(13)	12	(41)	9
		100%		100%

TABLE 10: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS (PERCENTAGES)

"People are generally critical of others."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(71)	63%	(222)	49
Undecided	(22)	19	(82)	18
Untrue	(20)	18	(149)	33
		100%		100%

TABLE 11: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD COMMUNITY

(PERCENTAGES)

"Families in this community keep their children under control."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(33)	29%	(249)	55%
Undecided	(27)	24	(86)	19
Untrue	(53)	47	(118)	26
		100%		100%

TABLE 12: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:
FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD COMMUNITY
(PERCENTAGES)

"Parents teach their children to respect other peoples' rights and property."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(44)	39%	(294)	65%
Undecided	(23)	20	(73)	16
Untrue	(46)	41	(86)	19
		100%		100%

TABLE 13: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:

FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD COMMUNITY

(PERCENTAGES)

"Folks are unconcerned about what their kids do so long as they keep out of trouble."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(58)	52%	(181)	40%
Undecided	(20)	17	(77)	17
Untrue	(35)	31	(195)	43
		100%		100%

TABLE 14: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:

FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD COMMUNITY

(PERCENTAGES)

"Most people get their families to church or Sunday School on Sunday."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(43)	38%	(331)	73%
Undecided	(21)	19	(77)	17
Untrue	(49)	43	(45)	10
		100%		100%

TABLE 15: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:

FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD COMMUNITY

(PERCENTAGES)

"If their children keep out of the way, parents are satisfied to let them do whatever they want to."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(44)	39 %	(109)	24 %
Undecided	(20)	18	(72)	16
Untrue	(49)	43	(272)	60
		100%		100%

TABLE 16: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: SCHOOLS (PERCENTAGES)

"Our schools do a poor job of preparing young people for life."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(29)	26%	(41)	9%
Undecided	(19)	17	(68)	15
Untrue	(65)	57	(344)	76
		100%		100%

TABLE 17: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:
SCHOOLS (PERCENTAGES)

"Our schools do a good job of preparing students for college."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(69)	61 %	(340)	75%
Undecided	(27)	24	(81)	18
Untrue	(17)	15	(32)	7
		100%		100%

TABLE 18: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:

SCHOOLS (PERCENTAGES)

"Our high school graduates take an active interest in making their community a better place in which to live."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(45)	40 %	(168)	37%
Undecided	(26)	23	(140)	31
Untrue	(42)	37	(145)	32
		100%		100%

TABLE 19: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: SCHOOLS (PERCENTAGES)

"Many young people in the community do not finish high school."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(99)	88%	(154)	34%
Undecided	(6)	5	(77)	17
Untrue	(8)	7	(222)	49
		100%		100%

TABLE 20: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: SCHOOLS (PERCENTAGES)

"Most of the students here learn to read and write well."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(90)	80%	(349)	77%
Undecided	(11)	10	(59)	13
Untrue	(12)	10	(45)	10
		100%		100%

TABLE 21: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:
CHURCHES (PERCENTAGES)

"The different churches here cooperate well together."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(53)	47%	(340)	75%
Undecided	(23)	20	(72)	16
Untrue	(37)	33	(41)	9
		100%		100%

TABLE 22: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: CHURCHES (PERCENTAGES)

"Most of our church people forget the meaning of the word brotherhood when they get out of church."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(74)	65%	(168)	37%
Undecided	(12)	11	(77)	17
Untrue	(27)	24	(208)	46
		100%		100%

TABLE 23: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: CHURCHES (PERCENTAGES)

"The churches are good for better community life."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(97)	86 %	(408)	89%
Undecided	(9)	8	(41)	9
Untrue	(7)	6	(9)	2
		100%		100%

TABLE 24: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES

CHURCHES (PERCENTAGES)

"Every church wants to be the biggest and most impressive."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(35)	31 %	(82)	18%
Undecided	(24)	21	(72)	16
Untrue	(54)	48	(299)	66
		100%		100%

TABLE 25: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:

CHURCHES (PERCENTAGES)

"Most of our churchgoers do not practice what they preach."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(67)	59%	(172)	38%
Undecided	(23)	20	(95)	21
Untrue	(24)	21	(186)	41
		100%		100%

TABLE 26: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:
ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR (PERCENTAGES)

"Local businesses deal fairly with everyone."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(66)	58%	(254)	56%
Undecided	(18)	16.	(104)	23.
Untrue	(29)	26	(95)	21
		100%		100%

TABLE 27: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR (PERCENTAGES)

"Everyone here tries to take advantage of you."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(25)	22%	(45)	10%
Undecided	(20)	18	(41)	9
Unture	(68)	60	(367)	81
		100%		100%

TABLE 28: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES

ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR (PERCENTAGES)

"A few people here make all the money."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(53)	47%	(136)	30%
Undecided	(19)	17	(86)	19
Untrue	(41)	36	(231)	51
		100%		100%

TABLE 29: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS; ATTITUDES

ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR (PERCENTAGES)

"The people here are all penny pinchers."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(25)	22%	(54)	12%
Undecided	(19)	17	(73)	16
Untrue	(69)	61	(326)	72
		100%		100%

TABLE 30: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES
ECONOMIC BEHAVIOR

"Local employers expect their help to live on low wages."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(67)	59%	(172)	38%
Undecided	(25)	22	(203)	45
Untrue	(21)	19	(78)	17
		100%		100%

TABLE 31: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (PERCENTAGES)

"Some people here 'get by with murder' while others get in trouble for anything they do."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(64)	57%	(208)	46%
Undecided	(19)	17	(64)	14
Untrue	(29)	26	(181)	40
		100%		100%

TABLE 32: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (PERCENTAGES)

"This community lacks real leaders."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(70)	62%	(172)	38%
Undecided	(17)	15	(91)	20
Untrue	(26)	23	(190)	42
		100%		100%

TABLE 33: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (PERCENTAGES)

"The town council runs the town to suit itself."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(41)	36%	(159)	35%
Undecided	(43)	38	(131)	29
Untrue	(29)	26	(163)	36
		100%		100%

TABLE 34: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES
LOCAL GOVERNMENT (PERCENTAGES)

"A few people have the local politics well sewed up."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(42)	37%	(140)	31%
Undecided	(37)	33	(127)	28
Untrue	(34)	30	(186)	41
		100%		100%

TABLE 35: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (PERCENTAGES)

"The Town Council gets very little done."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(46)	41%	(181)	28%
Undecided	(38)	34	(145)	32
Untrue	(29)	25	(127)	40
		100%		100%

TABLE 36: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:

TENSION AREAS (PERCENTAGES)

"The community is very peaceful and orderly."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(34)	30%	(290)	64%
Undecided	(23)	20	(72)	16
Untrue	(56)	50	(91)	20
		100%		100%

TABLE 37: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:

TENSION AREAS (PERCENTAGES)

"People around here show good judgement."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(45)	40%	(267)	59%
Undecided	(33)	29	(127)	28
Untrue	(35)	31	(59)	13
		100%		100%

TABLE 38: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: TENSION AREAS (PERCENTAGES)

"Too many young people here get into difficulties with sex and drinking."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(76)	68%	(222)	49%
Undecided	(17)	14	(95)	21
Untrue	(20)	18	(136)	30
		100%		100%

TABLE 39: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: TENSION AREAS (PERCENTAGES)

"You must spend lots of money to be accepted here."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(17)	15%	(45)	10%
Undecided	(16)	14	(64)	14
Untrue	(80)	71	(344)	76
		100%		100%

TABLE 40: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:

TENSION AREAS (PERCENTAGES)

"You are out of luck here if you happen to be of the wrong race or nationality."

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
True	(36)	32%	(54)	12%
Undecided	(20)	18	(91)	20
Untrue	(57)	50	(308)	68
		100%		100%

APPENDIX X

INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION

TABLE 1: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)

"Do you think people who go to school get better jobs than people who don't go to school?"

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
Yes	(109)	96%	(412)	91%
Sometimes	(2)	2	(23)	5
No Answer	(2)	2	(18)	4
		100%		100%

TABLE 2: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:

EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)

"What kind of a job do you want your kids to have when they grow up and finish school?"

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
A.	(51)	45%	(232)	51%
B.	(17)	15	(95)	21
C.	(13)	12	(49)	11
D.	(9)	8	(54)	12
E.	(8)	7	(18)	4
F.	(8)	7	(5)	1
G.	(7)	6	(0)	0
		100%		100%

A. Leaving it up to student
B. Best possible, or respectable and good paying
C. No answer
D. Professional
E. Skilled worker (foreman; machine operator; truck driver, etc.)
F. Don't know
G. Semi-skilled worker (blue collar; clerk, etc.)

TABLE 3: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:
EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)

"In what way is going to school going to help them get such a job?"

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
A.	(34)	30%	(141)	31%
B.	(27)	24	(14)	3
C.	(27)	24	(112)	25
D.	(10)	9	(109)	24
E.	(7)	6	(32)	7
F.	(5)	4	(4)	1
G.	(3)	3	(41)	9
		100%		100%

A. Because it is specifically necessary to have high school work and diploma to continue training or get good job
B. By "getting through school," "doing lessons,"etc. (Vague)
C. No answer
D. By getting "smart","better prepared," etc. (Vague)
E. By learning specific skills
F. By "going to school regular," etc. (Vague)
G. Because horizons of kids are widened and new fields are opened to them

TABLE 4: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:

EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)

"Have your children ever learned anything at school that makes you and your family feel pleased?

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
Yes (All)	(97)	86%	(409)	90%
No answer	(9)	8	(26)	6
No	(7)	6	(14)	3
Sometimes	(0)	0	(4)	1
		100%		100%

TABLE 5: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:

EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)

"Do children ever learn things at school that make them be disrespectful or mean to their parents - or makes their parents feel sad?"

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
NO	(71)	63%	(291)	64%
Yes (All)	(19)	17	(109)	24
Sometimes	(9)	8	(18)	4
Undecided or Don't Know	(8)	7	(9)	2
No Answer	(6)	5	(26)	6
		100%		100%

TABLE 6: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)

"Has your child ever said he didn't want to go to school?"

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
No	(56)	50%	(232)	51%
Yes	(43)	38	(177)	39
Sometimes	(7)	6	(27)	6
No Answer	(7)	6	(17)	4
		100%		100%

TABLE 7: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)

"Sometimes children get ashamed in school and don't like to go. Have you heard of anything like that?

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
No	(55)	49%	(222)	49%
Yes	(53)	47	(200)	44
No Answer	(3)	3	(27)	6
Sometimes	(1)	1	(4)	1
		100%		100%

TABLE 8: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)

"When it comes to teaching your children English and Arithmetic, do you think the teachers do a good job or a bad job?"

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
Yes (All)	(73)	65%	(281)	62%
Sometimes	(19)	17	(59)	13
Undecided or Don't Know	(10)	9	(73)	16
No	(6)	5	(9)	2
No Answer	(5)	4	(31)	7
		100%		100%

TABLE 9: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES:

EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)

"Does the school do a good job or a bad job in teaching children competition?"

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
Good Job	(62)	55%	(268)	59%
No Answer	(16)	14	(72)	16
Fair Job	(15)	13	(63)	14
Don't [illegible] Can't Decide	(15)	13	(32)	7
Bad Job	(5)	5	(18)	4
		100%		100%

TABLE 10: INDIAN AND WHITE PARENTS' ATTITUDES: EDUCATION (PERCENTAGES)

"Have you ever helped your child with lessons?

	(113)	Indian	(453)	White
Yes	(77)	68%	(390)	86%
No (All)	(23)	20	(23)	5
Sometimes	(11)	10	(27)	6
No Answer	(2)	2	(13)	3
		100%		100%

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PUBLIC EDUCATION ON A MINNESOTA CHIPPEWA RESERVATION

VOLUME 6

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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Public Education On A Minnesota Chippewa Reservation

Final Report
On
Cooperative Research #7-8138

To
United States Office
Of
Education

Sponsored
By
The University of Kansas

Conducted
By
Arthur M. Harkins

Under The Supervision
Of
Professor Rosalie H. Wax

May 31, 1968

Volume 6

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APPENDIX XI

TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN

TABLE 1: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"What are the nicest things about teaching here?"

	(34) Combined Village Elementary	(119) Combined Border Elementary	(177) Combined Secondary
A	29%	6%	15%
B	20	23	29
C	15	19	9
D	12	15	16
E	12	4	0
F	9	32	28
G	3	1	3
	100%	100%	100%

A. Attributes of the students (ability; willingness to work; etc.)

B. Social attributes of the school (friendship of teachers and administrators; easy-going emotional climate, etc.)

C. Physical attributes of the school (rooms; food; lighting; space; supplies; etc.)

D. Attributes of the community or region (geography; friendly and cooperative people; etc.)

E. The job itself, intrinsically

F. Professional, intellectual - professional aspects of the school (professional cooperation; professional excellence; academic freedom; respect for classroom integrity; class size, load; school size; wages; aides; etc.)

G. No answer

TABLE 2: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"What are the worst things about teaching here?"

	(25) Combined Village Elementary	(77) Combined Border Elementary	(126) Combined Secondary
A	36%	4%	17%
B	28	5	14
C	24	27	19
D	8	37	27
E	4	0	2
F	0	27	21
	100%	100%	100%

A. Attributes of the students (lack of ability; unwillingness to work; etc.)

B. Attributes of the community or region (geography; unfriendly and uncooperative people; etc.)

C. None

D. Professional - Professional aspects of the school (lack of professional cooperation; professional shabbiness; lack of academic freedom; low respect for classroom integrity; class size, load; wages; aides; school size; length of school hours)

E. Social attributes of the school (lack of friendship of teachers and administratiors; stressful emotional climate, etc.)

F. Physical attributes of the school (rooms; food; lighting; space; supplies; etc.)

TABLE 3: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"What are the special difficulties about teaching Indian children here?"

	(24) Combined Village Elementary	(85) Combined Border Elementary	(132) Combined Secondary
A	25%	18%	14%
B	25	12	42
C	21	21	5
D	13	7	4
E	8	18	9
F	4	18	23
G	4	6	3
	100%	100%	100%

A. Social and behavioral problems (shyness; lack of confidence; huddling together; speechlessness; etc.)

B. Lack of desire to learn; academic apathy, etc.

C. Poor, immoral, or academically uncontributive home environment (apathetic parents; shacky home; etc.)

D. No answer or haven't had an Indian child

E. None

F. Attendance problems

G. Poor academic background (reading, writing problems, etc.)

TABLE 4: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"Academically, how do Indian and White children compare here?"

	(19) Combined Village Elementary	(70) Combined Border Elementary	(106) Combined Secondary
A.	37%	39%	14%
B.	37	33	72
C.	21	11	7
D.	5	4	1
E.	0	9	3
F	0	4	3
	100%	100%	100%

A. About the same; no differences (some qualifications such as given chances, right guidance, etc.)

B. Indians lower than whites (usually home condition or etc.)

C. No answer (don't have any Indians - no Whites)

D. Primary grades same, older grades Indians fall behind

E. Don't know; don't feel qualified to say; don't wish to say

F. We should not compare them (or can't)

TABLE 5: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"How do they compare socially?"

	(19) Combined Village Elementary	(71) Combined Border Elementary	(104) Combined Secondary
A	53%	46%	73%
B	21	41	14
C	16	10	8
D	10	1	1
E	0	1	1
F	0	1	3
	100%	100%	100%

A. Indians are less adept than Whites; shy; group together; don't mix well

B. The same; no differences

C. No answer (don't have any Indians - no Whites)

D. Primary grades same; at older grades, Indians fall behind

E. Don't know; don't feel qualified to say; don't wish to say

F. We should not compare them.

TABLE 6: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"Are there any respects in which it is easier to work with these children than with others?"

	(18) Combined Village Elementary	(72) Combined Border Elementary	(104) Combined Secondary
A	39%	44%	50%
B	33	20	23
C	18	15	10
D	5	10	7
E	5	7	5
F	0	1	0
G	0	3	0
H	0	0	5
	100%	100%	100%

A. None
B. Yes, because more submissive; obey rules without much question; etc. - more pleasant and appreciative, patient, gentle - no discipline problems
C. No answer
D. Yes, when special treatment is given (kindness and attention), fully accepted and at ease.
E. Yes, in certain subjects. Spelling and writing are good.
F. Yes (no further explanation)
G. Varies from student to student
H. (All negative statements that do not answer question as put, but simply say something negative about Indian students. Eg., "They are a discipline problem", "never have to worry about parents","difficult to teach".)

TABLE 7: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"What do you feel these children need most in the way of education?"

	(20) Combined Village Elementary	(72) Combined Border Elementary	(116) Combined Secondary
A	35%	26%	15%
B	20	8	15
C	15	11	12
D	15	29	36
E	15	10	12
F	0	10	8
G	0	6	2
	100%	100%	100%

A. A different social (and cultural)environment or background (more "enlarged," less "deprived;" more "normal;" more "moral;" more "concerned" parents; an environment general more like White people's.)

B. To accept education for a future livelihood (job, trade, profession; more school; get off welfare; etc.)

C. To accept education as given

D. More individual help, understanding, love, care, and sincere human attention; more security and acceptance to develop self confidence, feeling of importance, etc. belonging - desire on their part

E. A different teaching approach by educators (special curricula changes; specialists; teacher training for Indian education, etc.) based on a knowledge and understanding of Indian life. Adjustments by the school. Kindergarten

F. No answer

G. To want to "raise themselves" socially

TABLE 8: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"What are the things that make it hardest for you to do a good job teaching these children?"

	(21) Combined Village Elementary	(77) Combined Border Elementary	(125) Combined Secondary
A	24%	18%	42%
B	24	25	10
C	24	2	8
D	14	12	4
E	10	12	11
F	4	14	19
G	0	8	0
H	0	4	2
I	0	5	4
	100%	100%	100%

A. Lack of desire to learn; academic apathy, etc.
B. Poor, immoral, or academically uncontributive home environment (apathetic parents; shaky home; etc.)
C. Lack of special academic methods for these children (smaller classes; different curricula; etc.); lack of adjustments by the school
D. No answer
E. Social and behavioral problems (shyness; lack of confidence; huddling together; speechlessness, sleepiness, etc.)
F. Attendance problems
G. Nothing or nothing much
H. Poor academic background (reading, writing problem, etc.)
I. Lack of knowledge and understanding of Indian way of life; inability to communicate with them

TABLE 9: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"What changes would you make or what programs would you initiate to improve the situation here?"

	(21) Combined Village Elementary	(108) Combined Border Elementary	(108) Combined Secondary
A	42%	3%	6%
B	18	1	6
C	10	33	22
D	10	12	13
E	10	21	11
F	10	13	15
G	0	3	0
H	0	1	9
I	0	12	17
J	0	1	1
	100%	100%	100%

A. Professional: teacher aides, one grade per class, one teacher per grade, class size, best possible teachers, shifts in attitudes of the school teachers and administration.
B. Integration of White and Indian students
C. No answer
D. None. Not any, "Can't think of any", "present program is working nicely", etc.
E. Educational programs: Kindergarten and preschool programs. Remedial programs (in math, reading, etc.) Adult education classes.
F. Bring up interest and involvement of all segments of the community: involve parents, school boards, etc. in school, improve community attitudes and values.
G. Better facilities
H. Emphasis on the more practical courses (Physical Education, auto-mechics, Home Economics, etc.)
I. A general attempt to involve interest,and stimulate these children
J. More knowledge about Indian way of life.

TABLE 10: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"As you see it, what are the biggest problems of the people on the Reservation?"

	(31) Combined Village Elementary	(89) Combined Border Elementary	(124) Combined Secondary
A	23%	10%	2%
B	23	10	5
C	16	19	18
D	13	18	15
E	10	8	6
F	6	7	15
G	3	18	10
H	3	1	2
I	3	3	2
J	0	3	0
K	0	2	1
L	0	1	24
	100%	100%	100%

A. Alcoholism
B. Lack of good jobs and steady incomes
C. Insularity (lack of iniative, or inability, to associate with others); feelings of rejection by others; etc. no self-confidence, lack of independence
D. Poor social environment (lack of cooperation; sex; violence; loose law enforcement; irresponsibility; etc.).
[illegible]
E. Poor physical environment (bad roads; shacks; no water; no electricity; no phones; etc.)
F. Effects of welfare
G. No answer
H. Poor leadership
I. Lack of training and education
J. No special problems
K. Health problems
L. Lack of ambition (apathy)

TABLE 11: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"In what schools and grades have you taught?"

	(20) Combined Village Elementary	(68) Combined Border Elementary	(104) Combined Secondary
A	65%	58%	38%
B	15	21	12
C	10	13	2
D	5	6	4
E	5	1	2
F	0	1	42
	100%	100%	100%

A. Two or more grades in two or more places in Minnesota

B. Two or more grades in two or more places, one or more of which may be outside Minnesota

C. One grade in one place (only the present school)

D. No answer or none (teacher's aide)

E. One grade in two or more places in Minnesota

F. Two or more grades in one place (only the present school)

TABLE 12: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"How many years of teaching experience do you have?"

	(18) Combined Village Elementary	(71) Combined Border Elementary	(105) Combined Secondary
A	39%	37%	27%
B	28	24	22
C	17	15	19
D	10	8	14
E	6	10	11
F	0	6	7
	100%	100%	100%

A. No answer

B. above 10 years

C. 4-6 years

D. 2-3 years

E. 7-10 years

F. First year of teaching now

TABLE 13: TEACHERS ATTITUDES' TOWARD SCHOOLS AND THE SCHOOLING OF INDIAN CHILDREN (PERCENTAGES)

"What changes would you make or what programs would you initiate to improve the situation here?"

	(21) Combined Village Elementary	(76) Combined Border Elementary	(108) Combined Secondary
A	43%	3%	6%
B	19	1	6
C	9	33	21
D	9	12	12
E	9	21	11
F	9	13	15
G	0	3	0
H	0	1	10
I	0	12	18
J	0	1	1
	100%	100%	100%

A. Professional: teacher aides; class size reductions; one teacher per grade; upgrading of teacher quality; attitude changes of teachers and administrators

B. Integration of White and Indian students

C. No answer

D. None; everything is fine; "can't think of any," etc.

E. Academic: Kindergarten and preschool programs; remedial math and reading; adult education

F. Bring up interest and involvement of all segments of the community; involve parents, school boards, etc; improve community values, attitudes toward school

G. Better plants (rooms, equipment, etc.)

H. More practical courses (shop, auto mechanics, physical education, home economics, etc.)

I. A general attempt to involve, interest, and stimulate these children

J. More knowledge about the Indian ways of life

APPENDIX XII

STANDARDIZED TEST PERFORMANCES OF VILLAGE INDIAN AND TOWN WHITE BOYS AND GIRLS

TABLE 1, 2, 3 : COMPARATIVE PERFORMANCES OF VILLAGE INDIAN AND TOWN WHITE BOYS AND GIRLS: IOWA TESTS OF BASIC SKILLS

Table 1	Grade	Voc.	Rdg.	Sp.	Cap.	Punct.	Usage	Total Lang.
Indian Girls	4	35	41	66	47	24	29	41
White Girls	4	48	44	45	29	36	32	33
Indian Boys	4	28	30	34	11	19	15	16
White Boys	4	45	58	43	40	40	40	35
Table 2								
Indian Girls	5	28	26	54	26	20	17	20
White Girls	5	75	74	75	71	71	60	72
Indian Boys	5	18	24	39	21	31	30	38
White Boys	5	85	99	61	72	60	59	65
Table 3								
Indian Girls	6	26	40	54	29	34	29	34
White Girls	6	42	37	48	45	49	49	48
Indian Boys	6	24	17	42	16	27	12	19
White Boys	6	44	43	49	41	36	51	43

Voc. = Vocabulary

Rdg. = Reading

Sp. = Spelling

Cap. = Capitalization

Punct. = Punctuation

Continued

	Maps	Graphs	Refs.	Total Wk-Stdy	Ccpt.	Prob.	Total Arith.	Comp.
Table 1								
Indian Girls	42	22	50	35	25	36	30	34
White Girls	37	45	33	20	24	31	25	36
Indian Boys	30	27	26	25	32	26	26	24
White Boys	57	62	41	53	56	58	48	55
Table 2								
Indian Girls	32	34	27	25	20	22	19	22
White Girls	65	75	68	75	63	63	67	75
Indian Boys	32	30	34	33	44	28	35	21
White Boys	88	98	73	94	69	60	56	88
Table 3								
Indian Girls	40	40	29	37	25	24	23	30
White Girls	38	47	54	46	42	42	42	41
Indian Boys	46	31	18	28	21	19	17	18
White Boys	50	53	45	48	40	30	34	42

Refs. = References

Ccpt. = Concepts

Prob. = Problems

Comp. = Composite

TABLE 4: PERFORMANCES OF VILLAGE INDIAN BOYS AND GIRLS: LORGE-THORNDIKE TEST (GRADES 3-7)

	Grade	C.A.	D.I.Q.	Age Equivalent	Grade Equivalent
Girls	3	8	94	7-4	2.0
Boys	3	7-10	90	7	1.8
Girls	4	9- 6	105	10-3	4.11
Boys	4	9-8	94	8-6	3.3

	Grade	C.A.	D.I.Q.		Age Equivalent		Grade Equivalent		Grade Percentile	
			V	NV	V	NV	V	NV	V	NV
Girls	5	10- 5	96	101	10-1	10-9	5.5	5.4	44	53
Boys	5	10-11	81	94	9-1	9-2	4.0	4.4	22	42
Girls	6	11- 5	93	100	10-7	11-6	5.8	6.2	32	49
Boys	6	11- 7	91	102	10-5	12-0	5.1	6.7	29	58
Girls	7	12- 9	96	108	12-0	13-9	6.7	8.5	41	67
Boys	7	12- 9	90	90	11-4	10-11	5.11	5.8	30	29

TABLE 5 COMPARATIVE APTITUDE TEST PERFORMANCE OF VILLAGE INDIAN BOYS AND GIRLS AND TOWN INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS AND GIRLS (GRADE 9)

[illegible]

	Verb. Reas.	Num. Abil.	Abstr. Reas.	Space Reas.	Mech. Abil.	Cler. Sp. & Accur.	Ver-Num Total
Village Indian Girls	20	20	25	26	24	37	17
Town Indian Girls	31	28	39	58	28	43	25
Town White Girls	39	38	39	35	32	56	37
Village Indian Boys	23	10	10	12	24	52	12
Town Indian Boys	31	44	43	17	15	76	37
Town White Boys	42	37	53	42	44	64	39

Verb. Reas.= Verbal Reasoning

Num. Abil = Numerical Ability

Abstr. Abil.= Abstract Reasoning

Space Reas. = Space Reasoning

Mech. Abil. = Mechanical Ability

Cler. Sp. & Accur.= Clerical Speed and Accuracy

TABLE 6: COMPARATIVE PERFORMANCE OF VILLAGE INDIAN BOYS AND GIRLS AND TOWN WHITE BOYS AND GIRLS: IOWA TESTS OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (GRADE 10)

	1	2	3	4	5
Indian Girls	32	22	48	29	35
White Girls	46	34	60	46	50
Indian Boys	47	47	33	41	39
White Boys	38	34	19	27	34

---

1 - Social Studies Background

2 - Natural Science Background

3 - Correctness of Expression

4 - Quantitative Thinking (Math)

5 - Reading Social Studies

Continued

TABLE 6:

	6	7	8	9	10
Indian Girls	28	29	16	27	36
White Girls	39	45	34	42	38
Indian Boys	39	34	37	33	37
White Boys	32	32	33	31	25

---

6 - Reading Natural Science

7 - Reading Literature

8 - General Vocabulary

9 - Composite Score 1-8

10 - Uses of Sources of Information

APPENDIX XIII

ATTITUDES AND EXPERIENCES OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS AND GIRLS

TABLE 1: OTHER RESIDENCE LOCALES OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	32	15	11	23	16	9
2.	17	11	7	3	2	1
3.	24	26	32	25	22	17
4.	12	8	11	15	13	11
5.	7	18	14	11	12	6
6.	8	22	25	23	35	56

1. No answer
2. Twin Cities
3. Elsewhere in Minnesota
4. Outside Minnesota
5. Some combination of 2-4
6. Nowhere else

TABLE 2: OTHER RESIDENCE LOCALES OF INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	27	13	14	29	17	10
2.	7	10	4	4	1	1
3.	28	27	33	20	22	21
4.	9	11	6	10	15	17
5.	22	10	10	12	10	7
6.	7	29	33	25	35	44

1. No answer
2. Twin Cities
3. Elsewhere in Minnesota
4. Outside Minnesota
5. Some combination of 2-4
6. Nowhere else

TABLE 3: BEST SCHOOL SUBJECT OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	2	11	4	3	3	1
2.	0	1	4	0	0	1
3.	0	1	7	0	1	2
4.	28	33	7	42	26	23
5.	40	15	11	22	8	6
6.	3	11	18	6	19	13
7.	10	18	21	14	22	18
8.	16	10	28	12	21	33
9.	1	0	0	1	0	3

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. All the same
4. Math
5. Reading, writing, spelling
6. Social Studies
7. Physical sciences
8. Art
9. Speech

TABLE 4: BEST SCHOOL SUBJECT OF INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	6	4	5	4	0	2
2.	0	0	0	0	0	1
3.	0	3	2	1	1	2
4.	27	40	8	32	36	15
5.	47	27	25	36	23	28
6.	3	8	12	3	13	9
7.	1	11	19	8	17	11
8.	10	0	23	14	0	18
9.	6	0	4	2	0	3
10.	0	7	2	0	10	11

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. All the same
4. Math
5. Reading, writing, spelling
6. Social Studies
7. Physical sciences
8. Art
9. Speech
10. Home Economics

TABLE 5: WORST SCHOOL SUBJECT OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	5	1	0	5	1	1
2.	1	3	11	1	1	1
3.	7	4	7	4	3	5
4.	35	25	7	26	20	11
5.	41	24	28	39	35	44
6.	7	22	25	12	15	25
7.	3	15	18	10	17	10
8.	1	3	4	1	7	2
9.	0	3	0	2	1	1

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. All the same
4. Math
5. Reading, writing, spelling
6. Social Studies
7. Physical sciences
8. Art
9. Speech

TABLE 6: WORST SCHOOL SUBJECT OF INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	7	1	5	6	2	2
2.	0	0	0	0	1	1
3.	1	11	2	4	2	4
4.	33	20	14	33	22	24
5.	24	22	19	19	11	23
6.	18	24	33	19	32	26
7.	14	16	22	16	25	15
8.	2	1	5	2	2	5
9.	1	1	0	1	1	0
10.	0	4	0	0	2	0

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. All the same
4. Math
5. Reading, writing, spelling
6. Social Studies
7. Physical sciences
8. Art
9. Speech
10. Home Economics

TABLE 7: PARENTAL SCHOOL VISITS OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	13	18	22	10	10	5
2.	5	6	4	3	6	1
3.	12	28	52	6	17	25
4.	38	31	11	23	16	27
5.	6	1	0	1	0	0
6.	17	16	11	53	49	42
7.	0	0	0	0	1	0
8.	9	0	0	4	1	1

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Never visit
4. Sometimes visit
5. Because of grades
6. PTA and parent conferences
7. Athletic events
8. Cultural events

TABLE 8: PARENTAL SCHOOL VISITS OF INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	12	15	8	5	8	1
2.	4	4	0	5	3	0
3.	12	27	37	4	8	16
4.	38	22	32	29	26	25
5.	7	6	4	0	1	1
6.	26	26	19	57	53	55
7.	0	0	0	0	1	0
8.	4	0	0	0	0	2

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Never visit
4. Sometimes visit
5. Because of grades
6. PTA and parent conferences
7. Athletic events
8. Cultural events

TABLE 9: PARENTS' REACTIONS TO GRADES OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 ((151)
1.	14	7	7	8	4	1
2.	1	4	4	4	0	0
3.	9	14	22	6	10	16
4.	38	21	7	43	18	14
5.	17	40	46	15	43	41
6.	14	13	0	14	13	17
7.	7	1	7	7	10	8
8.	0	0	7	3	2	3

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Nothing said
4. Good things said
5. Bad things said
6. Noncommittal things said
7. Both good and bad said
8. Other comments made

TABLE 10: PARENTS' REACTIONS TO GRADES OF INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	7	6	10	5	1	3
2.	0	1	0	2	0	0
3.	7	4	10	6	7	8
4.	46	20	14	50	29	28
5.	25	46	45	16	29	26
6.	12	17	13	9	20	16
7.	3	6	8	8	11	16
8.	0	0	0	4	3	3

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Nothing said
4. Good things said
5. Bad things said
6. Noncommittal things said
7. Both good and bad said
8. Other comments made

TABLE 11: PARENTS' VIEWS ON SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	17	8	18	9	7	3
2.	2	0	0	3	1	0
3.	2	11	14	5	19	24
4.	3	0	0	0	1	2
5.	73	77	61	78	71	67
6.	3	4	7	5	1	4

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Parents say nothing
4. Parents don't care
5. Parents say to go
6. Parents say to go and suggest punishment

TABLE 12: PARENTS' VIEWS ON SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	4	6	4	8	7	5
2.	3	1	0	1	0	0
3.	6	9	16	14	27	34
4.	3	4	0	1	1	3
5.	81	73	75	73	63	57
6.	3	7	4	3	2	1

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Parents say nothing
4. Parents don't care
5. Parents say to go
6. Parents say to go and suggest punishment

TABLE 13: PARENTS' VIEWS ON SCHOOL OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	16	8	25	12	8	7
2.	5	2	0	0	3	0
3.	17	26	36	8	14	20
4.	6	13	4	13	7	8
5.	54	47	35	66	60	58
6.	2	0	0	0	0	0
7.	0	4	0	1	8	7

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Parents say nothing
4. Parents say it is all right
5. Parents say it is good
6. Parents say it is not so good
7. Parents say it is bad

TABLE 14: PARENTS' VIEWS ON SCHOOL OF INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	8	13	8	11	8	6
2.	2	6	2	5	3	1
3.	12	18	14	8	9	16
4.	9	15	18	5	11	12
5.	67	41	42	69	59	53
6.	2	3	4	0	0	1
7.	0	4	12	2	10	11

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Parents say nothing
4. Parents say it is all right
5. Parents say it is good
6. Parents say it is not so good
7. Parents say it is bad

TABLE 15: POSITIVE TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	41	18	20	24	12	8
2.	0	3	4	0	1	1
3.	32	38	18	49	32	16
4.	3	0	0	0	0	0
5.	8	28	29	12	30	52
6.	14	12	29	13	21	18
7.	2	1	0	2	4	5

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Kind or "nice"
4. Helpful
5. Both kind or "nice" and helpful
6. Like all the teachers
7. Pretty

TABLE 16: POSITIVE TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	19	10	4	16	6	8
2.	2	1	0	0	0	0
3.	63	48	26	54	36	5
4.	2	1	0	0	0	0
5.	9	27	62	18	46	80
6.	3	7	6	8	8	5
7.	2	6	2	4	4	2

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Kind or "nice"
4. Helpful
5. Both kind or "nice" and helpful
6. Like all the teachers
7. Pretty

TABLE 17: NEGATIVE TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	48	31	32	29	19	19
2.	1	1	0	1	1	0
3.	16	25	7	34	15	8
4.	1	0	0	0	0	0
5.	0	8	11	8	18	33
6.	16	31	43	16	37	33
7.	18	4	7	12	10	7

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. "Mean" or "hard"
4. Not helpful
5. "Mean" or "hard" and not helpful
6. All teachers liked
7. No teachers liked

TABLE 18: NEGATIVE TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	42	16	8	25	13	11
2.	1	3	0	2	1	0
3.	19	31	14	24	20	5
4.	1	0	0	0	1	0
5.	1	18	32	10	28	51
6.	10	18	42	21	23	27
7.	26	14	4	18	14	6

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. "Mean" or "hard"
4. Not helpful
5. "Mean" or "hard" and not helpful
6. All teachers liked
7. No teachers liked

TABLE 19: PROUD FEELINGS AT SCHOOL OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	41	41	42	37	27	27
2.	5	3	3	1	0	1
3.	5	4	0	3	3	0
4.	5	14	3	7	8	19
5.	2	0	0	1	5	0
6.	26	36	52	46	51	52
7.	16	2	0	5	6	1

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. When perform well for other kids
4. When perform well for self
5. When perform well for teacher
6. When perform well on grades
7. When perform well on task

TABLE 20: PROUD FEELINGS AT SCHOOL OF INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	49	29	21	28	17	18
2.	0	1	0	1	1	0
3.	1	0	4	3	0	3
4.	8	6	14	10	10	15
5.	1	1	0	4	1	1
6.	32	59	56	52	68	60
7.	9	4	5	2	3	3

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. When perform well for other kids
4. When perform well for self
5. When perform well for teacher
6. When perform well on grades
7. When perform well on task

TABLE 21: BAD FEELINGS AT SCHOOL OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	51	40	45	40	30	29
2.	2	4	4	1	0	0
3.	2	6	0	2	3	3
4.	4	10	7	9	10	17
5.	6	3	4	8	7	1
6.	21	33	36	35	43	48
7.	14	4	4	5	7	2

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. When don't perform well for other kids
4. When don't perform well for self
5. When don't perform well for teacher
6. When don't perform well on grades
7. When don't perform well on task

TABLE 22: BAD FEELINGS AT SCHOOL OF INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	55	32	34	36	25	23
2.	1	1	0	2	0	0
3.	1	4	4	2	2	5
4.	7	10	16	11	10	18
5.	7	6	11	6	6	4
6.	19	46	35	42	51	48
7.	10	1	0	1	6	2

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. When don't perform well for other kids
4. When don't perform well for self
5. When don't perform well for teacher
6. When don't perform well on grades
7. When don't perform well on task

TABLE 23: FELT ENMITY OF OTHER KIDS BY INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	9	13	7	19	8	5
2.	38	35	18	39	44	32
3.	53	46	75	38	47	60
4.	0	6	0	4	1	3

1. No answer
2. Yes
3. No
4. Sometimes

TABLE 24: FELT ENMITY OF OTHER KIDS BY INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	6	4	9	12	3	5
2.	52	46	42	46	47	48
3.	41	46	44	40	44	39
4.	1	4	5	2	6	8

1. No answer
2. Yes
3. No
4. Sometimes

TABLE 25: EXPLANATION OF ENMITY OF OTHER KIDS BY INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	58	46	53	43	48	51
2.	0	7	0	2	3	1
3.	10	11	21	16	7	17
4.	1	0	0	4	0	0
5.	17	18	4	24	31	15
6.	13	3	0	6	3	2
7.	1	4	11	1	4	7
8.	0	6	7	0	0	0
9.	0	0	0	0	0	0
10.	0	5	4	4	4	7

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Others are friends ("like me")
4. Others are enemies ("don't like me")
5. Others tease ("pick on me")
6. Others physically abusive ("hit me")
7. Don't wish to tell
8. Because of race
9. Because of clothing
10. Because others form their own groups

TABLE 26: EXPLANATION OF ENMITY OF OTHER KIDS BY INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	41	35	35	36	30	32
2.	0	8	0	4	6	2
3.	10	13	12	17	18	14
4.	4	0	0	3	3	1
5.	32	21	18	32	32	34
6.	8	3	0	2	0	0
7.	0	1	5	1	3	5
8.	1	8	18	0	0	0
9.	0	8	2	0	2	1
10.	4	3	10	5	6	11

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Others are friends ("like me")
4. Others are enemies ("don't like me")
5. Others tease ("pick on me")
6. Others physically abusive ("hit me")
7. Don't wish to tell
8. Because of race
9. Because of clothing
10. Because others form their own groups

TABLE 27: SCHOOL FRIENDSHIP PREFERENCES OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	14	11	29	19	13	20
2.	0	2	4	0	1	1
3.	1	2	4	2	9	6
4.	0	0	0	0	0	0
5.	82	79	54	74	73	68
6.	3	2	0	2	1	0
7.	0	2	9	0	1	2
8.	0	2	0	3	2	3

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Girl (non-relative)
4. Girl (relative)
5. Boy (non-relative)
6. Boy (relative)
7. Nobody
8. Everybody

TABLE 28: SCHOOL FRIENDSHIP PREFERENCES OF INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	6	6	13	18	4	17
2.	1	0	2	0	1	0
3.	82	86	72	75	86	69
4.	6	0	0	0	0	1
5.	3	6	11	4	5	6
6.	1	0	0	0	0	0
7.	0	1	0	0	2	2
8.	1	1	2	3	2	5

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Girl (non-relative)
4. Girl (relative)
5. Boy (non-relative)
6. Boy (relative)
7. Nobody
8. Everybody

TABLE 29: SCHOOL FRIENDSHIP PREFERENCE REASONS OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	25	14	48	23	17	24
2.	6	2	3	2	1	3
3.	7	8	8	4	1	3
4.	31	10	0	10	9	6
5.	19	56	41	38	52	58
6.	0	0	0	1	0	0
7.	5	2	0	1	1	0
8.	7	8	0	21	19	6

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Pupil is entertaining
4. Pupil provides companionship
5. Pupil is entertaining and provides companionship
6. Pupil is member of nuclear family
7. Pupil is member of extended family
8. Pupil provides help

TABLE 30: SCHOOL FRIENDSHIP PREFERENCE REASONS OF INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	12	10	11	18	6	15
2.	2	0	0	1	1	0
3.	0	1	2	2	2	2
4.	44	20	16	10	10	2
5.	17	43	63	32	61	73
6.	0	0	0	0	0	0
7.	6	0	0	0	1	0
8.	19	26	8	36	19	8

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Pupil is entertaining
4. Pupil provides companionship
5. Pupil is entertaining and provides companionship
6. Pupil is member of nuclear family
7. Pupil is member of extended family
8. Pupil provides help

TABLE 31: NON-SCHOOL FRIENDSHIP PREFERENCES OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian Grade			(520) White Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	24	29	30	26	22	28
2.	0	0	0	1	1	0
3.	1	3	4	1	2	9
4.	9	8	11	6	3	1
5.	41	36	37	33	39	40
6.	24	17	11	22	25	16
7.	1	3	4	9	5	4
8.	0	4	3	2	2	2
9.	0	0	0	0	1	0

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Girl (non-relative)
4. Girl (relative)
5. Boy (non-relative)
6. Boy (relative)
7. Parents, aunts, uncles, grandfathers, and grandmothers
8. Nobody
9. Everybody

TABLE 32: NON-SCHOOL FRIENDSHIP PREFERENCES OF INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	19	23	13	19	15	16
2.	0	1	0	1	2	2
3.	44	34	16	41	27	22
4.	13	13	14	16	27	11
5.	3	14	48	8	13	31
6.	11	7	7	7	6	8
7.	10	7	2	6	6	8
8.	0	1	0	2	2	0
9.	0	0	0	0	2	2

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Girl (non-relative)
4. Girl (relative)
5. Boy (non-relative)
6. Boy (relative)
7. Parents, aunts, uncles, grandfathers and grandmothers
8. Nobody
9. Everybody

TABLE 33: NON-SCHOOL FRIENDSHIP PREFERENCE REASONS OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	30	38	36	39	34	35
2.	3	0	4	3	1	1
3.	5	4	0	3	2	0
4.	10	1	0	7	5	3
5.	15	29	29	16	34	41
6.	20	10	21	20	9	3
7.	14	8	0	6	5	4
8.	3	10	10	6	10	13

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Person is entertaining
4. Person provides companionship
5. Person is entertaining and provides companionship
6. Person is member of nuclear family
7. Person is member of extended family
8. Person provides help

TABLE 34: NON-SCHOOL FRIENDSHIP PREFERENCE REASONS OF INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	29	38	22	42	35	20
2.	3	0	0	1	1	2
3.	0	3	0	2	1	0
4.	20	0	2	3	5	1
5.	14	38	61	22	36	47
6.	16	11	4	11	9	9
7.	11	6	2	8	3	0
8.	7	4	9	11	10	21

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Person is entertaining
4. Person provides companionship
5. Person is entertaining and provides companionship
6. Person is member of nuclear family
7. Person is member of extended family
8. Person provides help

TABLE 35: DESIRE TO REMAIN HOME OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	69	72	71	63	64	68
2.	0	0	0	1	0	0
3.	11	1	0	4	1	1
4.	6	13	14	19	18	11
5.	1	1	0	2	3	4
6.	2	4	4	1	3	6
7.	3	4	0	3	6	3
8.	5	4	7	2	3	5
9.	3	1	4	5	2	2

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. When ill
4. When tests are given
5. When speeches are given
6. When playing at home
7. When task at home needs doing
8. When feeling down on school generally
9. Never wish to stay away

TABLE 36: DESIRE TO REMAIN HOME OF INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	64	55	48	59	58	49
2.	0	0	0	1	2	0
3.	12	0	0	4	2	2
4.	12	25	19	26	22	24
5.	2	10	18	1	3	6
6.	0	0	0	0	0	0
7.	4	3	4	3	3	3
8.	0	4	2	1	4	6
9.	6	3	9	5	6	10

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. When ill
4. When tests are given
5. When speeches are given
6. When playing at home
7. When task at home needs doing
8. When feeling down on school generally
9. Never wish to stay away

TABLE 37: PLAY OR RECREATION PREFERENCES OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	5	7	7	4	1	3
2.	0	0	0	1	1	0
3.	42	25	11	17	10	11
4.	12	3	0	8	3	3
5.	1	1	0	2	0	1
6.	0	0	0	1	0	0
7.	40	60	79	67	80	75
8.	0	4	3	0	5	7

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Group games
4. Solitary games
5. Reading
6. Music
7. Both group and solitary games
8. Group and solitary recreation, often with reading and popular music

TABLE 38: PLAY OR RECREATION PREFERENCES OF INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	0	6	5	1	4	5
2.	0	0	2	0	1	0
3.	19	14	16	9	5	11
4.	23	4	2	9	8	2
5.	4	0	3	3	1	2
6.	0	3	2	1	3	0
7.	50	61	47	71	59	59
8.	4	11	23	6	19	21

1. No answer
2. Don't know
3. Group games
4. Solitary games
5. Reading
6. Music
7. Both group and solitary games
8. Group and solitary recreation, often with reading and popular music

TABLE 39: FEELINGS OF PRIDE AT HOME OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	46	51	29	41	29	14
2.	7	8	4	2	5	4
3.	0	2	11	0	0	0
4.	3	0	0	2	2	1
5.	3	4	4	2	1	3
6.	19	10	0	16	14	13
7.	22	25	38	37	49	51

1. No answer
2. Never
3. Don't know
4. Rarely
5. A lot
6. When do right by others
7. When do right by self

TABLE 40: FEELINGS OF PRIDE AT HOME OF INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	45	45	46	37	26	34
2.	4	3	5	1	3	4
3.	0	0	0	1	0	1
4.	2	4	5	1	0	2
5.	1	0	0	1	0	2
6.	31	25	16	24	27	29
7.	17	23	28	35	44	28

1. No answer
2. Never
3. Don't know
4. Rarely
5. A lot
6. When do right by others
7. When do right by self

TABLE 41: UNPLEASANT FEELINGS AT HOME OF INDIAN AND WHITE BOYS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(188) Indian			(520) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (88)	7-9 (72)	10-12 (28)	3-6 (219)	7-9 (150)	10-12 (151)
1.	44	52	32	39	28	30
2.	8	7	11	1	3	6
3.	0	0	8	0	0	0
4.	5	1	0	2	2	4
5.	2	0	0	0	1	3
6.	8	14	3	11	15	13
7.	6	17	32	23	42	34
8.	20	8	11	16	6	7
9.	7	1	3	8	3	3

1. No answer
2. Never
3. Don't know
4. Rarely
5. A lot
6. When do badly by others
7. When do badly by self
8. During violence (fights, spankings)
9. When ill

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TABLE 42: UNPLEASANT FEELINGS AT HOME OF INDIAN AND WHITE GIRLS BY THREE GRADE RANGES (PERCENTAGES)

	(217) Indian			(469) White		
	Grade			Grade		
	3-6 (90)	7-9 (70)	10-12 (57)	3-6 (224)	7-9 (114)	10-12 (131)
1.	45	43	40	32	35	35
2.	3	0	0	0	4	1
3.	0	0	0	0	0	1
4.	1	6	3	2	0	1
5.	0	0	4	0	0	2
6.	8	16	28	18	12	24
7.	12	14	14	29	37	22
8.	24	20	11	13	9	14
9.	7	1	0	6	3	0

1. No answer
2. Never
3. Don't know
4. Rarely
5. A lot
6. When do badly by others
7. When do badly by self
8. During violence (fights, spankings)
9. When ill

TABLE 43

IMMEDIATE ROLE ASPIRATIONS (PERCENTAGES)

VILLAGE INDIANS - BORDERTOWN WHITES

(GRADES: 3-6)

	(250) Boys		**(286) Girls**	
	(87) Indian	(163) White	(88) Indian	(198) White
1.	21%	11%	18%	7%
2.	2	5	5	4
3.	23	26	22	30
4.	3	9	5	13
5.	8	0	1	0
6.	4	1	8	7
7.	2	0	0	0
8.	0	2	0	0
9.	0	0	2	0
10.	9	5	1	1
11.	2	6	0	1
12.	8	4	21	2
13.	0	0	0	0
14.	2	1	0	2
15.	0	4	0	1
16.	16	25	16	32
17.	0	1	1	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%

1. No answer
2. Nothing; no one; don't know
3. A man (boys); a woman (girls)
4. Self ("me")
5. Military
6. School Professional
7. Operative
8. Craftsman, foreman, and kindred
9. Clerical and kindred
10. Proprietor, manager, and official (excluding farm)
11. Service worker
12. Professional, clerical, and kindred
13. Sales worker
14. Laborer (excluding farm and mine)
15. Farmer, farm manager, laborer and foreman
16. Performer (TV, movies, radio)
17. Diety

TABLE 44

IMMEDIATE ROLE ASPIRATIONS (PERCENTAGES)

VILLAGE INDIANS - BORDERTOWN WHITES

(GRADES: 7-9)

	(215) Boys		(191) Girls	
	(72) Indian	(143) White	(72) Indian	(119) White
1.	35%	15%	20%	26%
2.	7	6	8	9
3.	8	22	25	13
4.	18	16	12	21
5.	0	2	3	0
6.	3	2	2	3
7.	0	0	0	0
8.	0	0	0	0
9.	0	0	2	0
10.	5	6	4	0
11.	0	0	2	0
12.	5	14	8	3
13.	0	0	0	0
14.	0	0	2	2
15.	0	0	0	0
16.	17	17	12	23
17.	2	0	0	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%

1. No answer
2. Nothing; no one; don't know
3. A man (boys); a woman (girls)
4. Self ("me")
5. Military
6. School Professional
7. Operative
8. Craftsman, foreman, and kindred
9. Clerical and kindred
10. Proprietor, manager, and official (excluding farm)
11. Service worker
12. Professional, clerical and kindred
13. Sales worker
14. Laborer (excluding farm and mine)
15. Farmer, farm manager, laborer and foreman
16. Performer (TV, movies, radio)
17. Diety

TABLE 45

IMMEDIATE ROLE ASPIRATIONS (PERCENTAGES)

VILLAGE INDIANS - BORDERTOWN WHITES

(GRADES: 10-12)

	(178) Boys		(188) Girls	
	(30) Indian	(148) White	(54) Indian	(134) White
1.	30%	22%	13%	22%
2.	7	8	10	10
3.	17	17	22	24
4.	20	18	26	22
5.	3	1	2	0
6.	3	2	0	2
7.	0	1	0	0
8.	0	0	2	0
9.	0	0	0	0
10.	0	4	2	2
11.	0	1	2	0
12.	7	17	4	1
13.	0	0	0	0
14.	0	1	0	1
15.	3	1	0	0
16.	10	6	17	13
17.	0	1	0	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%

1. No answer
2. Nothing; no one; don't know
3. A man (boys); a woman (girls)
4. Self ("me")
5. Military
6. School Professional
7. Operative
8. Craftsman, foreman, and kindred
9. Clerical and kindred
10. Proprietor, manager, and official (excluding farm)
11. Service worker
12. Professional, clerical and kindred
13. Sales worker
14. Laborer (excluding farm and mine)
15. Farmer, farm manager, laborer and foreman
16. Performer (TV, movies, radio)
17. Diety

TABLE 46

GROWNUP ROLE ASPIRATIONS (PERCENTAGES)

VILLAGE INDIANS - BORDERTOWN WHITES

(GRADES: 3-6)

	(250) Boys		(286) Girls	
	(87) Indian	(163) White	(88) Indian	(198) White
1.	8%	3%	2%	5%
2.	7	1	7	4
3.	0	4	4	4
4.	0	0	2	0
5.	28	8	1	0
6.	5	4	24	28
7.	6	8	0	0
8.	1	3	0	0
9.	0	0	6	2
10.	5	5	0	1
11.	9	14	2	8
12.	22	24	45	33
13.	1	0	1	1
14.	6	1	2	6
15.	1	20	0	2
16.	1	5	3	6
17.	0	0	1	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%

1. No answer
2. Nothing; no one; don't know
3. A man (boys); a woman (girls)
4. Self ("me")
5. Military
6. School Professional
7. Operative
8. Craftsman, foreman, and kindred
9. Clerical and kindred
10. Proprietor, manager, and official (excluding farm)
11. Service worker
12. Professional, clerical and kindred
13. Sales worker
14. Laborer (excluding farm and mine)
15. Farmer, farm manager, laborer and foreman
16. Performer (TV, movies, radio)
17. Diety

TABLE 47

GROWNUP ROLE ASPIRATIONS (PERCENTAGES)

VILLAGE INDIANS - BORDERTOWN WHITES

(GRADES: 7-9)

	(215) Boys		**(191) Girls**	
	(72) Indian	**(143) White**	**(72) Indian**	**(119) White**
1.	12%	7%	4%	2%
2.	16	5	15	12
3.	0	2	1	2
4.	1	1	0	0
5.	16	8	4	1
6.	7	6	11	22
7.	7	14	0	0
8.	8	5	0	0
9.	2	0	9	6
10.	2	3	0	0
11.	7	10	18	19
12.	20	23	32	26
13.	0	1	1	0
14.	0	1	0	5
15.	2	12	0	2
16.	0	2	5	3
17.	0	0	0	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%

1. No answer
2. Nothing; no one; don't know
3. A man (boys); a woman (girls)
4. Self ("me")
5. Military
6. School Professional
7. Operative
8. Craftsman, foreman, and kindred
9. Clerical and kindred
10. Proprietor, manager, and official (excluding farm)
11. Service worker
12. Professional, clerical, and kindred
13. Sales worker
14. Laborer (excluding farm and mine)
15. Farmer, farm manager, laborer and foreman
16. Performer (TV, movies, radio)
17. Diety

TABLE 48

GROWNUP ROLE ASPIRATIONS (PERCENTAGES)

VILLAGE INDIANS - BORDERTOWN WHITES

(GRADES: 10-12)

	(178) Boys		**(188) Girls**	
	(30) Indian	**(148) White**	**(54) Indian**	**(134) White**
1.	14%	6%	2%	2%
2.	25	11	9	10
3.	0	3	0	6
4.	0	0	0	1
5.	4	7	9	1
6.	4	10	10	23
7.	7	16	0	1
8.	14	7	2	0
9.	0	2	22	21
10.	7	2	0	0
11.	0	7	24	15
12.	21	24	19	18
13.	0	0	0	0
14.	0	2	0	1
15.	4	3	0	1
16.	0	0	3	0
17.	0	0	0	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%

1. No answer
2. Nothing; no one; don't know
3. A man (boys); a woman (girls)
4. Self ("me")
5. Military
6. School Professional
7. Operative
8. Craftsman, foreman, and kindred
9. Clerical and kindred
10. Proprietor, manager, and official (excluding farm)
11. Service worker
12. Professional, clerical and kindred
13. Sales worker
14. Laborer (excluding farm and mine)
15. Farmer, farm manager, laborer and foreman
16. Performer (TV, movies, radio)
17. Diety

APPENDIX XIV

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